

The hard truth about
income inequality

BY RANA FOROOHAR

Either fix our schools
or get used to failure

BY FAREED ZAKARIA


Pew poll:
iPhones vs. IRAs

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY


TIME




CAN YOU STILL



MOVE UP IN



AMERICA?



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TIME

VOL. 178, NO. 19 | 2011

2 | Editor's Desk

BRIEFING

7 | Verbatim

8 | LightBox

Hindus in the Ganges

10 | World

A referendum stalls Greece's bailout; NATO out of Libya, mission accomplished

12 | Nation

Mark Halperin: the White House fights Mitt Romney with a scathing attack

14 | Economy

For a strong America, more government regulation

20 | Health & Science

Red wine: good for you; all other alcohol: not so much

23 | Milestones

Farewells to Hillary Clinton's mom Dorothy Rodham and Gilbert Cates, savior of the Oscars telecast

COMMENTARY

24 | In the Arena

Joe Klein on the GOP campaign circus: Send in the clowns? Don't bother—they're here

ON THE COVER:

Photo-Illustration by Timothy Goodman for TIME



A Tibetan monk ponders his homeland: 10 holy men have burned themselves alive to protest China's occupation. Photograph by Shio Fukada for TIME

FEATURES

26 Land of Lost Opportunity

Crises have crippled the dream of upward mobility in the U.S. Want to move on up? Move to Denmark *by Rana Foroohar*

36 Our Biggest Divide

A new poll shows two opposing Americas: the old and the young *by Michael Crowley*

42 Education Can Save Us

For a U.S. resurgence, hire great teachers. And, kids, work harder! *by Fareed Zakaria*

46 Tibet on Fire

Self-immolating monks protest China's lockdown of their land *by Hannah Beech*

52 Mind over Matter

The BodyWave harnesses brain power to perform physical tasks *by John Cloud*

THE CULTURE

60 | Pop Chart

Adele's throat troubles; the secret of Samuel L. Jackson's success

62 | Television

All-American Muslim, a reality show with real ethnic nuances

64 | Society

Finishing school, where good manners are good business

69 | Health

Some product-label warnings are there just to scare you

71 | Books

Stephen King time-travels to 11/22/63

72 | The Awesome Column

Joel Stein on the perils of celebrity marriage

74 | 10 Questions

Leonardo DiCaprio on being J. Edgar Hoover



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Five Things
JFK Could
Teach Obama

Head of State

Pride and
Presidents

EDITOR'S DESK

The Land of Opportunity



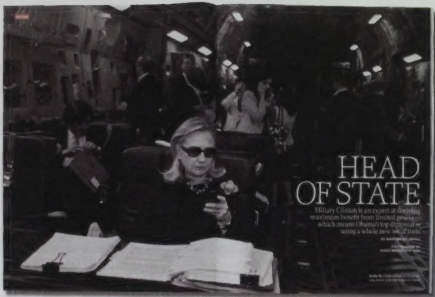
America is the original meritocracy. The American promise is that people are not prisoners of the circumstances of their birth. Who your parents are or where you were born should not determine your destiny. From the beginning, this has always been one of our self-evident truths. And for many decades, the U.S. had greater social mobility than other developed countries. But that is no longer true. The U.S. now ranks behind France and Finland in terms of the ability of people to move up the economic ladder.

To help restore the promise of the American Dream, we are a co-convenor of Opportunity Nation, a broad-based, nonpartisan coalition of some 200 organizations trying to increase social mobility in America. On Nov. 3 and 4, we are hosting an Opportunity Nation summit at Columbia University to discuss ideas about how to restore the promise of opportunity across the country.

Our cover package deals with the nexus between social mobility and income inequality. The main story, by our economic columnist Rana Foroohar, explains how we got into our current situation and how we might get out of it. It is complemented by a strong argument by Fareed Zakaria on why education is the best way to increase upward mobility. And we are delighted to be partnering with the Pew Research Center on a fascinating poll that reveals a growing political divide between the old and the young that may hold the country back. The quest to increase social mobility is not a Democratic or a Republican idea. It's not a liberal or a conservative idea. It is an American idea, part of the mission statement of our republic. We need to keep this the land of opportunity.

Rick

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



THE CONVERSATION

'Of course, it's easier to be popular when you're a global diplomat,'

wrote *USA Today's* David Jackson of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, "rather than a down-in-the-pit politician." Jackson was referring to *TIME's* cover story, "Head of State," and its accompanying poll data showing that Clinton would do significantly better than her boss in a 2012 bid against the current crop of Republican candidates. The poll fueled a lot of media speculation, despite Clinton's having repeatedly said she is not now interested in the White House. Meanwhile, Howard Stern and other cultural observers directed their followers' attention to *TIME.com's* Health-land story, "Why Lovin' the McRib Isn't Heart Smart," which detailed how this salt bomb with the "bizarre cult following" is made up of 70 ingredients, including a substance most commonly used to make gym mats and shoe soles. Nonetheless, the San Francisco *Chronicle's* Francisca Ortega concluded, "something tells me this news isn't going to stop people from eating the sandwich."

TIME
?

Up Next ...

Who should be *TIME's* 2011 Person of the Year? That question, hotly debated in the offices of *TIME*, will be the topic of discussion for a Nov. 8 panel including Anita Hill, Brian Williams, Mario Batali and Grover Norquist. We want readers to weigh in as well, by voting in the Person of the Year poll that launches Nov. 11 on *TIME.com*.



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AN INNOVATIVE COMPANY GROW

ENDED UP CHANGING MILLIONS
OF PEOPLE'S LIVES



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Hillary in 2012?

After reading Massimo Calabresi's cover story on Hillary Clinton, I have come to a conclusion ["Head of State," Nov. 7]. To heck with the Republican candidates' silly platforms and empty rhetoric, and to heck with Barack Obama, with his great speeches and do-nothing presidency. Hillary is intelligent, has vision and actually seems to know what she is doing. She should be our next President.

Peyton Higgison, BRUNSWICK, MAINE

Libya a success? Let's wait and see who takes over.

Doris Rivera, VICTORVILLE, CALIF.

Lessons from JFK

Chris Matthews' critique of Obama's presidency is totally unfair ["Five Things JFK Could Teach Obama," Nov. 7]. Obama became President under much more difficult circumstances than Kennedy did. After conferring on Obama the power to immediately and magically remove all of the nation's unprecedented difficulties, Americans became petulant when he

HEAD COUNT

A Global Baby Boom

On Oct. 31, U.N. officials symbolically declared newborn Danica Mae Camacho of Manila (right) to be the world's 7 billionth person. TIME .com's coverage of this population milestone—and its implications for everything from food supplies and reproductive rights to public transportation—drew hundreds of comments from readers. A sample:

Survival of the species depends far more on increased intelligence than greater numbers. In fact, the latter may very well indicate less of the former.

—Ricky Barnes

If America ate 10% less meat, those resources (grain and water) could feed 20 million people. We could feed all 7 billion if we wanted to.

—Stella Herzog

A country whose population doubles every 10 years is committing a form

of aggression. Send that on a postcard to the U.N.

—Lars Kadison

In many countries, a declining birthrate is a serious problem. People are resources, not nuisances.

—Poems Kabita

Time to move on. Mars, anyone?

—Julio Cesar Mendoza Francia



SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

► In "Libya's Well-Oiled Revolution," we misstated the country's oil production [Nov. 7]. In 2010 it was 2.8 million barrels a day, and the nation's estimated potential output is 3.5 million barrels a day.

► "The Solyndra Syndrome" misquoted a Brookings Institution report [Oct. 10]. It did not say clean-energy jobs grew at an annual rate of 3.4%. It calculated that growth rate for the "clean economy," which includes subsectors like organic farming and waste treatment.

didn't—to the point of not even noticing when he did tackle problems. The President has so far done a herculean job, strongly and intelligently, despite huge negative forces thrown his way.

Mitsuko E. Marsh, LAKEWOOD, OHIO

Matthews says Obama needs to ask Americans to follow him. The flip side is that the President needs to show that he's got our backs and won't lead us to slaughter in the name of expediency, bipartisanism or compromise.

Gordon Swenson, SALT LAKE CITY

The Souls of Black Folk

I hope Randall Kennedy is correct that African-American voters will continue to support Barack Obama in 2012 ["Pride and Presidents," Nov. 7]. Whatever his shortcomings, the President remains a welcome alternative to the field of what William F. Buckley would have called "the kooks" on the right.

Kathy Gleason, LANCASTER, PA.

Racism will remain alive as long as educators like Kennedy focus so heavily on skin color as a way of defining people.

James Traun, MOOREHEAD, MINN.

SOUND OFF

'TIME should have pressed Rice on why she ignored Richard Clarke's pre-9/11 warning of an impending attack.'

Robert Rosenberg, Brighton, Mich., on 10 Questions for Condoleezza Rice, Nov. 7



The former Secretary of State says she clashed with Dick Cheney on secret prisons

WRITE TO US

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Send a letter: TIME Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020. Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space



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Kennedy may be correct in saying black voters will stand by President Obama in 2012. But if more states are successful in suppressing voter participation among blacks, college students and the poor, even high percentages of support will not translate into enough votes for Obama, especially in key swing states in a tight election.

Rick Carson, ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

Market Movers

Re "Zones of Seduction" [Nov. 7]: Martin Lindstrom adroitly reminds us how marketing strategies, even at grocery stores, have contributed to our economic problems by manipulating us into spending on items we do not need and never really wanted.

M. Simon, CLERMONT, FLA.

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Briefing

'Oh wow, oh wow, oh wow.'

1. **STEVE JOBS**, in his final words before his Oct. 5 death, according to his sister Mona Simpson's eulogy

'Some grown men cried. I kind of liked that because they made me cry a few times.'

2. **TONY LA RUSSA**, manager of the St. Louis Cardinals, who won the World Series Oct. 28, describing how players reacted to his retirement announcement

'I enjoy flowers like everybody else.'

3. **HERMAN CAIN**, Republican presidential candidate, when asked in an interview if he has a "roaming eye," after it was reported that in the 1990s, Cain was accused of sexual harassment—claims he called "baseless"

'If Greece had defaulted, there would have been a domino effect carrying everyone away.'

4. **NICOLAS SARKOZY**, French President, calling Greece's admittance to the euro zone a "mistake"; the Greek government appeared near collapse because of its debt crisis

'Global warming is real.'

5. **RICHARD MULLER**, University of California, Berkeley, physicist, who was once a climate-change skeptic but changed his mind after completing a two-year study



76

Weight, in pounds (35 kg), of a deer eaten whole by a 16-ft. (5 m) Burmese python in the Florida Everglades

200,000

Combined time, in years, that people around the world have spent playing the smart-phone game Angry Birds since its 2009 release

700

Number of passengers who were trapped on six JetBlue planes for as long as eight hours after flights were grounded because of a snowstorm



178

Number of prescription-drug shortages reported by U.S. pharmacies and medical centers in 2010, up from 61 in 2005



Briefing

LightBox

Into the river

Hindu devotees in the Indian state of Bihar wade into the Ganges during an annual festival honoring the sun deity

Photograph by Aftab Alam Siddiqui—AP
lightbox.time.com







Many in Greece
are considering
whether it's
time to forsake
the euro

1 GREECE The fate of the euro hung in the balance following an announcement by Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou that he would put a proposed E.U. bailout of his debt-ridden country to a referendum. The product of laborious talks among leading European heads of state, the bailout would write off half of Greece's debt and lend Athens \$140 billion, but it requires the Greeks to make deep cuts in public spending and in the pensions and wages of government employees. If Greece doesn't accept the deal—a likely outcome if the decision is left to a populace infuriated by austerity measures—the country may default on its debt, triggering a fiscal crisis that could implode the whole euro zone. For a Prime Minister facing dissent within his party as well as from the opposition, the referendum was a bid to win a popular mandate for the difficult path ahead. It may have backfired. At press time, Papandreou looked set to face a no-confidence vote in Parliament, while European markets tanked.



11 K

\$15,020

Sale price at auction of a pair of Queen Victoria's undergarments

'All of his hair had come off in my hand. That's when I started to scream.'

MARINA LITVINENKO, *coordinatrice TMAI* - Marina Litvinenko è la prima donna a ricoprire questo ruolo. Ha lavorato per 10 anni in un'azienda di consulenza e ha fondato la TMAI nel 2005. Ha lavorato per 10 anni in un'azienda di consulenza e ha fondato la TMAI nel 2005. Ha lavorato per 10 anni in un'azienda di consulenza e ha fondato la TMAI nel 2005.



LITVINENKO M 2006



2 | KYRGYZSTAN
Former Prime Minister Almazbek Atambayev won a majority in landmark presidential elections for this small, landlocked nation. When he takes office next year, it will, hopefully, mark the first peaceful, democratic transfer of power in the history of Central Asia, a region still in the grip of post-Soviet authoritarian regimes and the competing interests of Russia, China and the West.



An al-Shabab fighter tries to bring order to a protest against Kenya's incursion

3 SOMALIA Kenya's offensive against al-Shabab, an al-Qaeda-affiliated Islamist militia in southern Somalia, intensified, with Nairobi warning of "continuous" attacks on 10 al-Shabab-held towns. Al-Shabab has a history of staging raids in Kenya, abducting tourists and setting off bombs in major cities. The weak Somali government tacitly accepted Kenya's incursion, but there's a risk the military campaign may strengthen local support for the Islamists. On Oct. 31, a Kenyan missile strike allegedly killed five and wounded dozens at a camp full of refugees fleeing the region's withering famine.



Will They Listen This Time?

4 | FRANCE Antiglobalization protesters massed in Nice ahead of the G-20 summit in nearby Cannes. Holding aloft banners that read **PEOPLE FIRST, NOT FINANCE**, the demonstrators tapped into widespread resentment of the powerful institutions and politicians many hold responsible for the world's economic woes. But don't expect dignitaries in Cannes to be that aware of any protests: the posh resort town is on full lockdown by French police.

Time to Go, Or No?

5 | LIBYA NATO heralded the formal end of its military operations in Libya a week after the country's interim leaders declared liberation from 42 years of tyranny under slain despot Muammar Gaddafi. Though intended only to protect civilian lives, the NATO mission enabled the rebels to overthrow the Gaddafi regime. But the job may not be done. Libya's new leadership wants NATO to remain, as a surplus of weapons and friction amid rebel factions threaten security.

Anatomy of an intervention



At least at UNESCO, Palestine can act like an independent state

Recognition for Palestine

6 | FRANCE Though the Palestinian bid for statehood at the U.N. Security Council is almost certain to be rebuffed, there was a warmer welcome in Paris, home of UNESCO, the U.N.'s cultural organization. Of 174 delegates, only 14—including those representing the U.S. and Israel—voted against member status for Palestine. The vote may leave UNESCO poorer, however: U.S. law requires the Obama Administration to withhold all dues from the body.

Nation

The Big Questions

By Mark Halperin

Why did some Democrats recoil when David Plouffe said Mitt Romney had "no core"?

Plouffe, who ran Obama's 2008 effort and is now a top White House aide, used the disparaging phrase—an unusually harsh, frontal attack so early in the campaign—on *Meet the Press*. There is widespread bipartisan concurrence among the political class that Romney will face Obama next year—and that Romney is willing to say just about anything to get elected. But Plouffe's personal attack sounded off-key to some party operatives, when the winning message is about jobs and the economy, not personality.



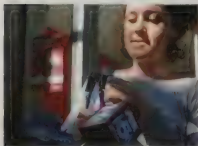
Would Romney go personal against Obama? Just the opposite. What is most potent about Romney's campaign so far is its cleverly dispassionate anti-Obama formula, which goes some

thing like this: "The President is a nice man with a nice family. He didn't cause the economic mess, but his actions have made things worse. He's clearly in over his head." That message wor-

ries many senior Democrats, who now believe Romney has made the tactical decision to take the high road and leave the gutter attacks to the incumbent. Says Romney strategist Stuart Stevens, staying softer edged than Plouffe: "This is the same Obama campaign that savaged Hillary Clinton [and] ridiculed President Clinton [in 2008]. It must be difficult to think you have elected the next FDR and instead find yourself working for Herbert Hoover."

So what are Romney's weaknesses in a general election?

Romney's remote, wooden manner and his history of flip-flopping. But to hold the White House, the Democrats will need to dismantle Romney's job-creation claims, not his character.

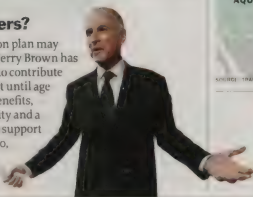


ACTIVIST When Bank of America announced a \$5 monthly fee for debit-card purchases in September, Molly Katchpole, 22, of Washington went on the offensive. She cut up her debit card on camera and collected 306,000 signatures online. On Nov. 1, the bank rolled back the fee.

CALIFORNIA

Brown vs. State Workers?

California's generous state pension plan may get a haircut now that Governor Jerry Brown has asked new government workers to contribute more to retirement accounts, wait until age 67 to retire and rely on a mix of benefits, including pensions, Social Security and a 401(k)-like plan. Elected with the support of public-employee unions in 2010, Brown says his proposed reforms would save the state \$900 million a year.

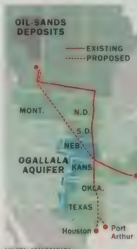


ENERGY

ENERGY

The President and The Pipeline

Barack Obama said he would decide whether to permit construction of the proposed \$7 billion Keystone XL pipeline and whether to require that it be routed away from the massive Ogallala aquifer that supplies 2 million people in the Plains states with drinking water. The pipeline would carry crude from Alberta's oil-sands region to refineries in the U.S. and create thousands of jobs, but it faces local opposition along its path and challenges from environmentalists.



NUMBER

\$98.5 billion

The new (and doubled!) estimate of the cost of building California's high-speed rail network by 2033

meet the new

prius family

toyota presents the original one, the bigger one, the smaller one and the one that plugs in.
They're all a little different, just like us.

prius c concept
coming spring 2012

3rd gen prius
currently available

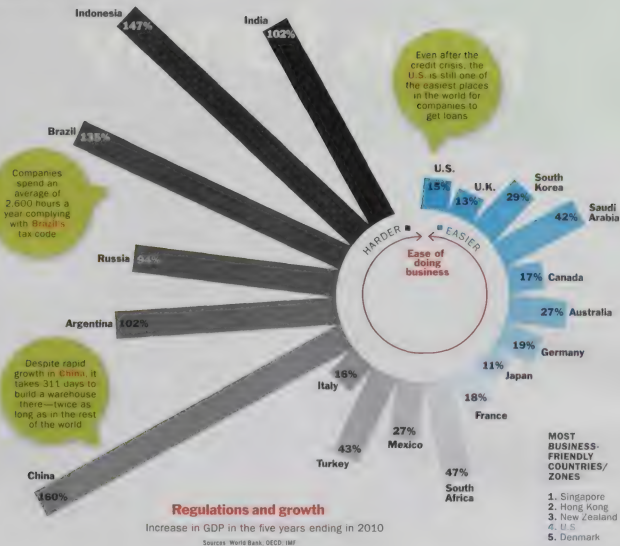
prius plug-in hybrid
coming spring 2012

prius v
coming fall 2011

prius goes plural



Economy



The Deregulation Myth. Ignore the rhetoric: nations with more rules grow faster

Overregulation has been a persistent economic bogeyman this year. Presidential candidate and Texas Governor Rick Perry says government regulations are "strangling the American entrepreneurship out there." House Speaker John Boehner says cutting regulation is the best way to boost jobs. Even President Barack Obama has talked about eliminating some government rules. In mid-October the World Bank released its annual ranking of countries on the basis of ease of doing business; it took into account the number of regulations, tax rates, the time it takes to start a business and other factors. Out of 183 countries, the U.S. was deemed the fourth easiest place in the world to do business, unchanged from the year before. What's more, a number of lower-ranked nations—including South Africa, China and Brazil—have had much faster-growing economies than the U.S. in the past five years. Neil Gregory, a deputy director for indicators at the World Bank, says regulations kill some jobs but create others. He says rules that promote small-business lending are essential. The search for the true job killer continues. —STEPHEN GANDEL

FIDELITY

Fiscally Responsible
Would you hide money troubles from your spouse?

25%
YES

75%
NO

Source: Based on a National Foundation for Credit Counseling online survey of 1,430 respondents

Very high triglycerides is a medical term for something serious:

TOO MUCH FAT IN YOUR BLOOD.

Ask your doctor about the FDA-approved medication made from omega-3 fish oil: LOVAZA

If you have high cholesterol, diabetes or are overweight, you may also be at risk for very high triglycerides (≥ 500 mg/dL), which is a serious medical condition. There's only one FDA-approved medication for treating very high triglycerides that's made from omega-3 fish oil. LOVAZA, along with diet, has been clinically proven to lower very high triglycerides in adults. Individual results may vary. LOVAZA has not been shown to prevent heart attacks or strokes. LOVAZA is only available by prescription. You can't get it at a health food store. So if you think you might have very high triglycerides, talk to your doctor about getting tested and ask about LOVAZA.

LOVAZA is used along with a low-fat and low-cholesterol diet to lower very high triglycerides (fats) in your blood. Before taking LOVAZA, talk to your healthcare provider about how you can lower high blood fats by losing weight, if you are overweight, increasing physical exercise, lowering alcohol use, treating diseases such as diabetes and low thyroid (hypothyroidism), and adjusting the dose or changing other medicines that raise triglyceride levels such as certain blood pressure medicines and estrogens.

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION FOR LOVAZA

Tell your doctor if you are allergic to fish or shellfish as LOVAZA may not be right for you. Talk to your doctor about any medical conditions you have and any medications you are taking, especially those that may increase your risk of bleeding. In some patients, LDL (bad) cholesterol may increase. Your healthcare provider should do blood tests before and during treatment with LOVAZA to check your cholesterol and triglyceride levels. If you have liver disease, you may require additional monitoring. Possible side effects include burping, upset stomach, and change in sense of taste.

How supplied: 1-gram capsule


Please see important Patient Information on the next page.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

For more information, visit LOVAZA.com or call 1-877-LOVAZA1



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LOVAZA
omega-3-acid ethyl esters

PATIENT INFORMATION

LOVAZA® (ô-vâ-zâ)
(omega-3-acyl ethyl
esters) Capsules



Read the Patient Information that comes with LOVAZA before you start taking it, and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This leaflet summarizes the most important information about LOVAZA and does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your condition or treatment.

For more information, visit LOVAZA.com or call 1-877-LOVAZA21

What is LOVAZA?

LOVAZA is a prescription medicine, called a lipid-regulating medicine, for adults. LOVAZA is made of omega-3 fatty acids from oils of fish, such as salmon and mackerel. Omega-3 fatty acids are substances that your body needs but cannot produce itself.

LOVAZA is used along with a low-fat and low-cholesterol diet to lower very high triglycerides (fats) in your blood. Before taking LOVAZA, talk to your healthcare provider about how you can lower high blood fats by:

- losing weight, if you are overweight
- increasing physical exercise
- lowering alcohol use
- treating diseases such as diabetes and low thyroid (hypothyroidism)
- adjusting the dose or changing other medicines that raise triglyceride levels such as certain blood pressure medicines and estrogens

Treatment with LOVAZA has not been shown to prevent heart attacks or strokes.

LOVAZA has not been studied in children under the age of 18 years.

Who should NOT take LOVAZA?

Do not take LOVAZA if you:

- are allergic to LOVAZA or any of its ingredients.

What should I tell my doctor before taking LOVAZA?

Tell your doctor about all of your medical conditions, including if you:

- drink more than 2 glasses of alcohol daily
- have diabetes
- have a thyroid problem called hypothyroidism
- have a liver problem
- have a pancreas problem
- are allergic to fish and/or shellfish
- LOVAZA may not be right for you
- are pregnant, or planning to become pregnant, if it is not known if LOVAZA can harm your unborn baby
- are breastfeeding, if it is not known if LOVAZA passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicine, vitamins, and herbal supplements. LOVAZA and certain other medicines can interact. Especially tell your doctor if you take medicines that affect clotting such as anticoagulants or blood thinners. Examples of these medicines include aspirin, nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory agents (NSAIDs), warfarin, coumatin, and clopidogrel (PLAVIX®).

How should I take LOVAZA?

- Take LOVAZA exactly as prescribed. Do not change your dose or stop LOVAZA without talking to your doctor.
- Your doctor should start you on a low-fat and low-cholesterol diet before giving you LOVAZA. Stay on this low-fat and low-cholesterol diet while taking LOVAZA.
- Your doctor should do blood tests to check your triglyceride and cholesterol levels during treatment with LOVAZA.
- If you have liver disease, your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver function during treatment with LOVAZA.

What are the possible side effects of LOVAZA?

The most common side effects with LOVAZA are burping, upset stomach and a change in your sense of taste.

LOVAZA may affect certain blood tests. It may change:

- one of the tests to check liver function (ALT)
- one of the tests that measure cholesterol levels (LDL-C)

Talk to your doctor if you have side effects that bother you or that will not go away.

These are not all the side effects with LOVAZA. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

What are the ingredients in LOVAZA?

Active Ingredient:

Omega-3-acyl ethyl esters
Inactive Ingredients: Gelatin, glycerol, purified water, alpha-tocopherol (in soybean oil)

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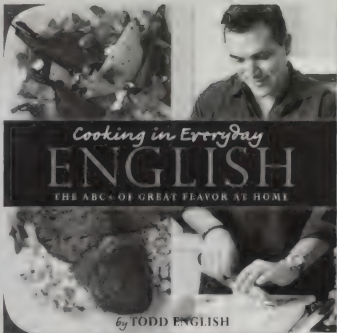
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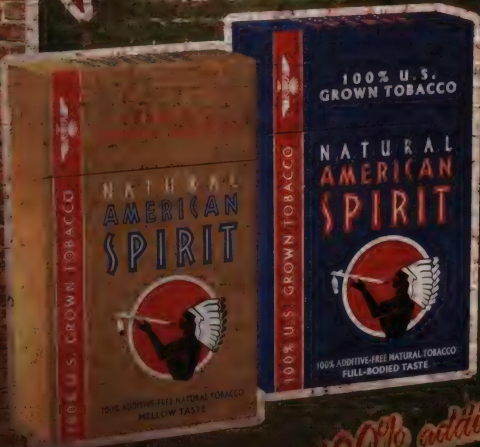
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Health & Science



A killer gene may help reduce mosquito populations

Self-Destructing Skeeters. Breeding mosquitoes to control disease?

By Alice Park

MOSQUITOES ARE REMARKABLY GOOD AT TRANSMITTING deadly ailments, so why not a killer gene? Researchers at a British biotech firm have created mosquitoes with a gene that when passed on results in offspring dependent on an antibiotic to survive. Without the drug, the new generation would die. In the first study of its kind, the genetically altered *Aedes aegypti* mosquitoes—which can carry dengue fever—were released into the wild on Grand Cayman island, and early results suggest the strategy may work to reduce skeeter populations and disease. The engineered males were half as successful at mating as wild ones, and 10% of mosquito larvae in the test area inherited the fatal gene. But the long-term ecological effects of the release are unknown.

OBESITY Gym vs. Genes

Our DNA may play a major role in how we look, how we act and how long we live, but it doesn't dictate our destiny. A study finds that people who inherited copies of FTO, the first gene to be linked to obesity, were able to counteract their predisposition to fatness by exercising. People with FTO were 30% less likely to pack on pounds if they were physically active than if they weren't. Gym: 1. Genes: 0.



ALCOHOL Raise a Glass to Your Health ... or Maybe Not

FIRST, THE GOOD NEWS

You might be less eager to learn why red wine is good for you than to simply know that it is, but researchers have documented the myriad ways that Bordeaux may improve health.

They focused on resveratrol, the compound brimming in red grapes, since animal studies had linked it to long life and better heart health. Obese men who took a 150-mg supplement daily of resveratrol lowered their cholesterol levels and their risk of diabetes and burned energy more efficiently than those taking a placebo. But getting the

same benefits from your favorite cabernet might not be feasible. You'd have to drink more than 2.5 gal. (9.5 L) of red wine a day to reach the blood levels provided by the supplements.

AND NOW FOR THE NOT SO GOOD

Despite its potential salutary effects, even moderate alcohol consumption—three to six drinks a week—may boost breast-cancer risk by 15%, according to a new study, while heavier drinking ups the risk by 50%. That means women face a conundrum at the bar. Alcohol may raise estrogen levels and promote breast tumors, but a glass or two of red wine a day is also known to lower heart-disease risk, not to mention improve metabolic function overall. Sorry, ladies. If only all decisions were as simple as red or white.

Resveratrol
in red wine
can enhance
promotes



HAPPINESS

35%

Decrease in risk of dying during a five-year study among people who reported being happy, content or excited on a typical day, compared with those who were sadder or more anxious

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Joe Klein



To read Joe's blog posts, go to time.com/swampland

The Republican Romper Room

Calamity Cain, giddy Perry and wobbly Romney roil the GOP race

THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL campaign continues to amaze. We are less than two months away from the Iowa caucuses, to be held on Jan. 3, and the field of candidates remains dramatically inchoate. Indeed, as October slipped into November, various Republicans seemed to be imploding: Mitt Romney flipped another flop, Rick Perry gave a memorably goofy speech in New Hampshire, and Herman Cain suffered a severe case of memory loss about several alleged incidents of sexual harassment. This collection of candidates, the most inept in memory, seems to be diminishing rather than growing in stature over time—not a very good sign.

Romney's gaffe was the least damaging, although it demonstrated the house-of-cards fragility of his candidacy. He went to Ohio, ostensibly to support Republican Governor John Kasich on two ballot measures, especially one that would clip the wings of local public employees' unions. He visited a phone bank and congratulated the die-hard volunteers for working so hard to support the governor—and then said he wasn't taking a position on the unpopular referendum, even though he'd previously supported Kasich's stand.

This should have been no more than a tiny gastric event in the marathon, a hiccup at best. It is entirely possible that Romney was momentarily befuddled in the fog of campaigning, as he later claimed. But his reputation as a flip-flopper on issues that really matter to Republicans—abortion, homosexuality, climate change, health care—is so entrenched that he can barely afford to switch from bacon to sausage at a restaurant without being accused of perfidy. He remains the only Republican who can plausibly challenge the President, especially on the debate stage, but his party

seems extremely reluctant to give him the benefit of the doubt on anything.

In a normal week, Rick Perry's speech to a conservative group in New Hampshire might have been big news. It was powerfully weird, not so much for the words as for the body language—although the words were intermittently gonzo, as when he rhapsodized about the New Hampshire state slogan and the battle cry at the Alamo: "Live free or die. Victory or death. Bring it!"



Perry mugged, shrugged, rolled his eyes, bobbled his head, churned his fists and flashed robotic thumbs-up accompanied by loony grins. He seemed like a fugitive from the Cartoon Network. Some speculated that he was less than sober, although the hosts of the event said no. In truth, his performance brought back memories of my own histrionic efforts in eighth grade to sell an oral book report about a book I hadn't read. I still blush at the memory.

There has been some speculation in recent weeks that Perry's money will carry him through to the coveted mano-

a-mano spot against Romney. There were even those who judged his most recent, noncomatose but rude and obnoxious debate performance to be a step in the right direction. I don't think so. Perry is, quite simply, overmatched, a minor league ballplayer flailing in the majors. His dreadful debate performances have camouflaged the fact that he doesn't do anything very well except, perhaps, shill for the petroleum industry. His main role, going forward, will be to waste his money chucking negative ads at his opponents.

Which brings us to Herman Cain, who is as dreadful as Perry but has acquired some temporary Teflon, courtesy of Rush Limbaugh and the right-wing squawk box. Cain has achieved conservative-martyr status as a victim of the "liberal" media, having been accused of sexual harassment by Politico, which is hardly a left-wing outlet. But no matter: anything to the left of Rush is commie territory for the faithful. This is a perversely fortunate event for Cain since it draws attention away from his Romney-like hedging on abortion and his vast ignorance on a range of other presidential issues. As November began, a Quinnipiac poll had him surging past Romney, 30% to 23%.

Polls are not predictive. The Republican race will twist and turn over the next few months, as voters in Iowa exercise their constitutional right to change their mind, again and again. But a larger picture is emerging: this is *Romper Room*, an embarrassing spectacle for Republicans. Even when they wander toward the real target—the stagnating economy—the candidates propose policies that are opposed by most Americans. In an early debate, not one of them said they would accept a deficit-reduction deal that included \$1 in revenue increases for every \$10 in budget cuts. An imposing majority of the public disagrees. I would imagine that Barack Obama is sitting in the White House, looking at the terrible economic numbers, then looking at his infantile opposition and wondering what he ever did to get so lucky.



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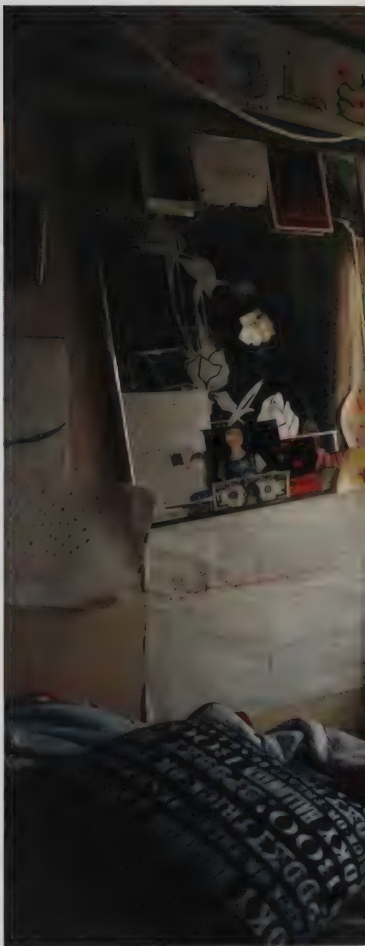
Lesley Perez, 24

A New York City kindergarten teacher, Perez earns just \$23,000 a year. To save money, she lives with her parents. She is \$35,000 in debt from college loans

WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO UPWARD MOBILITY?

Why the U.S. has become the land of less opportunity — and what we can do to revive the American Dream

By Rana Foroohar





Photographs by Joakim Eskildsen for TIME



Evan, 22, Sophia, 50, and Brent Nagao, 54

Because his Selma, Calif., farm isn't profitable, Brent works for the USDA. Evan quit his job to work the farm, while Sophia cares for Brent's ailing parents.



Marla, 39, and Darren Sumner, 40

The New Orleans couple was laid off from design and architecture jobs in 2008. Steady work was scarce for years until Marla landed a job as a design director in September. Darren is still looking.



AMERICA'S STORY, OUR NATIONAL MYTHOLOGY, is built on the idea of being an opportunity society. From the tales of Horatio Alger to the real lives of Henry Ford and Mark Zuckerberg, we have defined our country as a place where everyone, if he or she works hard enough, can get ahead. As Alexis de Tocqueville argued more than 150 years ago, it's this dream that enables Americans to tolerate much social inequality—this coming from a French aristocrat—in exchange for what

we perceive as great dynamism and opportunity in our society. Modern surveys confirm what Tocqueville sensed back then: Americans care much more about being able to move up the socioeconomic ladder than where we stand on it. We may be poor today, but as long as there's a chance that we can be rich tomorrow, things are O.K.

But does America still work like that? The suspicion that the answer is no inspires not only the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) protests that have spread across the nation but also a movement as seemingly divergent as the Tea Party. While OWS may focus its anger on rapacious bankers and the Tea Party on spendthrift politicians, both would probably agree that there's a cabal of entitled elites on Wall Street and in Washington who have somehow loaded the dice and made it impossible for average people to get ahead. The American Dream, like the rest of our economy, has become bifurcated.

Certainly the numbers support the idea that for most people, it's harder to get ahead than it's ever been in the postwar era. Inequality in the U.S., always high compared with that in other developed

countries, is rising. The 1% decry by OWS takes home 21% of the country's income and accounts for 35% of its wealth. Wages, which have stagnated in real terms since the 1970s, have been falling for much of the past year, in part because of pervasively high unemployment. For the first time in 20 years, the percentage of the population employed in the U.S. is lower than in the U.K., Germany and the Netherlands. "We like to think of America as the workingest nation on earth. But that's no longer the case," says Ron Haskins, a co-director, along with Isabel Sawhill, of the Brookings Institution's Center on Children and Families.

Nor are we the world's greatest opportunity society. The Pew Charitable Trusts' Economic Mobility Project has found that if you were born in 1970 in the bottom one-fifth of the socioeconomic spectrum in the U.S., you had only about a 17% chance of making it into the upper two-fifths. That's not good by international standards. A spate of new reports from groups such as Brookings, Pew and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development show that it's easier to



Felecia Ogbodo, 37, and her daughter Ermaline, 18

Felecia, from Fresno, Calif., lost her job as a social worker and is filing for bankruptcy. Ermaline, a student at UC Santa Cruz, worries about needing to support her mom.

climb the socioeconomic ladder in many parts of Europe than it is in the U.S. It's hard to imagine a bigger hit to the American Dream than that: you'd have an easier time getting a leg up in many parts of sclerotic, debt-ridden, class-riven old Europe than you would in the U.S.A. "The simple truth," says Sawhill, "is that we have a belief system about ourselves that no longer aligns with the facts."

The obvious question is, What happened? The answers, like social mobility itself, are nuanced and complex. You can argue about what kind of mobility really matters. Many conservatives, for example, would be inclined to focus on absolute mobility, which means the extent to which people are better off than their parents were at the same age. That's a measure that focuses mostly on how much economic growth has occurred, and by that measure, the U.S. does fine. Two-thirds of 40-year-old Americans live in households with larger incomes, adjusted for inflation, than their parents had at the same age (though the gains are smaller than they were in the previous generation).

But just as we don't feel grateful to

have indoor plumbing or multichannel digital cable television, we don't necessarily feel grateful that we earn more than our parents did. That's because we don't peg ourselves to our parents; we peg ourselves to the Joneses. Behavioral economics tells us that our sense of well-being is tied not to the past but to how we are doing compared with our peers. Relative mobility matters. By that standard, we aren't doing very well at all. Having the right parents increases your chances of ending up middle to upper middle class by a factor of three or four. It's very different in many other countries, including Canada, Australia, the Nordic nations and, to a lesser extent, Germany and France. While 42% of American men with fathers in the bottom fifth of the earning curve remain there, only a quarter of Danes and Swedes and only 30% of Britons do.

Yet it's important to understand that when you compare Europe and America, you are comparing very different societies. High-growth Nordic nations with good social safety nets, which have the greatest leads in social mobility over the U.S., are small and homogeneous. On average, only

about 7% of their populations are ethnic minorities (who are often poorer and thus less mobile than the overall population), compared with 28% in the U.S. Even bigger nations like Germany don't have to deal with populations as socially and economically diverse as America's.

Still, Europe does more to encourage equality. That's a key point because high inequality—meaning a large gap between the richest and poorest in society—has a strong correlation to lower mobility. As Sawhill puts it, "When the rungs on the ladder are further apart, it's harder to climb up them." Indeed, in order to understand why social mobility in the U.S. is falling, it's important to understand why inequality is rising, now reaching levels not seen since the Gilded Age.

There are many reasons for the huge and growing wealth divide in our country. The rise of the money culture and bank deregulation in the 1980s and '90s certainly contributed to it. As the financial sector grew in relation to the rest of the economy (it's now at historic highs of about 8%), a winner-take-all economy emerged. Wall Street was less about creating new

businesses—entrepreneurship has stalled as finance has become a bigger industry—but it did help set a new pay band for top talent. In the 1970s, corporate chiefs earned about 40 times as much as their lowest paid worker (still closer to the norm in many parts of Europe). Now they earn more than 400 times as much.

The most recent blows to economic equality, of course, have been the real estate and credit crises, which wiped out housing prices and thus erased the largest chunk of middle-class wealth, while stocks, where the rich hold much of their money, have largely recovered. It is telling that in the state-by-state Opportunity Index recently released by Opportunity Nation, a coalition of private and public institutions dedicated to increasing social mobility, many of the lowest-scoring states—including Nevada, Arizona and Florida—were those hardest hit by the housing crash and are places where credit continues to be most constrained.

But the causes of inequality and any resulting decrease in social mobility are also very much about two megatrends that have been reshaping the global economy since the 1970s: the effects of technology and the rise of the emerging markets. Some 2 billion people have joined the global workforce since the 1970s. According to Goldman Sachs, the majority of them are middle class by global standards and can do many of the jobs that were once done by American workers, at lower labor costs. Goldman estimates that 70 million join that group every year.

While there's no clear formula for ascribing the rise in inequality (via wage compression) and subsequent loss of mobility to the rise of China and India, one key study stands out. Nobel laureate Michael Spence's recent examination of major U.S. multinationals for the Council on Foreign Relations found that since the 1980s, companies that operated in the tradable sector—meaning they made things or provided services that could be traded between nations—have created virtually no net new jobs. The study is especially illustrative of the hollowing out of the American manufacturing sector in that period as middle-wage jobs moved abroad. The only major job creation was in more geographically protected categories like retail and health care (another reason wages are shrinking, since many of the fastest-growing jobs in the U.S., like home health care aide and sales clerk, are low paying).

That so many of the jobs we now create are low end underscores a growing debate

The Mobility Matrix. Your chances of moving up are tied to a complex mix of geography, race, health and education

Chances of Achieving the Dream

The American Dream is defined here as being part of the middle class—annual income of 300% of poverty level, or \$65,000 for a family of four—at age 40

Succeeds consistently at life stages from early childhood to adulthood

85%

Born to an upper-income family

72%

Caucasians

70%

Men

66%

All Americans

64%

Women

62%

Hispanics

59%

Born to a disadvantaged family

56%

Born to a lower-income family

52%

African Americans

50%

Fails consistently at life stages from early childhood to adulthood

33%

Like the Rest of Our Economy, Opportunity Is Bifurcated

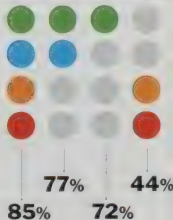


Worst prospects

Many bottom states, like Nevada, were hit hard by the real estate and credit crisis. They also have poor educational levels and low investment

Pathways To the Dream

Chance of reaching the middle class measured in age-group achievement. Color icons represent success, gray ones failure



Opportunity score

The index reflects performance on 16 indicators within three dimensions: jobs and local economy; education; and community health and civic life

20 30 40 50 60 70 80+
LOWEST HIGHEST



HIGHEST
89

Best prospects

The top states are those with diversified economies, rich civic lives and—like Connecticut—high levels of investment in education

EARLY CHILDHOOD 0-5 YEARS

Prereading and math skills; school-appropriate behavior; no major health problems

MIDDLE CHILDHOOD 6-11 YEARS

Basic reading and math skills; self-regulated behavior

ADOLESCENCE 12-19 YEARS

High school diploma with GPA greater than 2.5; not convicted of a crime; if female, has not given birth

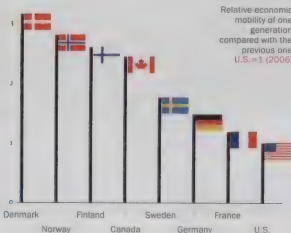
TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD 20-29 YEARS

Post-secondary degree or equivalent family income (greater than 250% of poverty level)

34%
33%

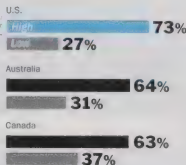
Why We're Falling Behind

The U.S. trails other Western industrialized nations in many of the key areas that influence a person's prospects for economic mobility



Education

In the U.S., children's educational attainment is closely linked to their parents' Average child's percentile on vocabulary tests, by parents' education level



Teenage moms

Their children are headed for trouble—they are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior

Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 teenage women)



Longer shot

Equality enables upward mobility: when the rungs are farther apart, the climb up the ladder is still possible but more difficult





POVERTY ISN'T PART OF THE AMERICAN DREAM.



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over technology and its role in increasing or decreasing opportunity. Many of the jobs that have disappeared from the U.S. economy have done so not only because they were outsourced but also because they are now done by computers or robots. Advocates of technology-driven economic growth, like the McKinsey Global Institute, would argue that the creative destruction wrought by such innovations creates more and better jobs in the future; microchip making employs just 0.6% of the U.S. workforce, but chips make all sorts of businesses more efficient so they can develop new products and services. The problem is that those jobs tend to be skewed toward the very top (software engineer) or the bottom (sales clerk). The jobs in the middle have disappeared. According to the New America Foundation, a public-policy think tank, the share of middle-income jobs in the U.S. fell from 52% in 1980 to 42% in 2010.

While there's no doubt that so far, technology has been a net plus in terms of the number of jobs in our economy, a growing group of experts believe that link is being broken. Two economists at MIT, Erik Brynjolfsson and Andrew McAfee, have just published an influential book titled *Race Against the Machine*, looking at how computers are increasingly able to perform tasks better than humans do, from driving (Google software recently took a self-driving Prius on a 1,000-mile trip) to sophisticated pattern recognition to writing creative essays and composing award-winning music. The result, they say, is that technology may soon be a net job destroyer.

The best hope in fighting the machines is to improve education, the factor that is more closely correlated with upward mobility than any other. Research has shown that as long as educational achievement keeps up with technological gains, more jobs are created. But in the late 1970s, that link was broken in the U.S. as educational gains slowed. That's likely an important reason that Europeans have passed the U.S. in various measures of mobility. They've been exposed to the same Malthusian forces of globalization, but they've been better at using public money to buffer them. By funding postsecondary education and keeping public primary and secondary schools as good as if not better than private ones, Europeans have made sure that the best and brightest can rise.

There are many other lessons to be learned from the most mobile nations.

AS LONG AS EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT KEEPS UP WITH TECHNOLOGICAL GAINS, MORE JOBS ARE CREATED

Funding universal health care without tying it to jobs can increase labor flexibility and reduce the chance that people will fall into poverty because of medical emergencies—a common occurrence in the U.S., where such medical crises are a big reason a third of the population cycles in and out of poverty every year. Focusing more on less-expensive preventive care (including family planning, since high teen birthrates correlate with lack of mobility) rather than on expensive procedures can increase the general health levels in a society, which is also correlated to mobility.

Europe's higher spending on social safety nets has certainly bolstered the middle and working classes. (Indeed, you could argue that some of America's great social programs, including Social Security and Medicaid, enabled us to become a middle-class nation.) Countries like Germany and Denmark that have invested in youth-employment programs and technical schools where young people can learn a high-paying trade have done well, which is not surprising given that in many studies, including the Opportunity Nation index, there's a high correlation between the number of teenagers who are not in school or not working and lowered mobility.

Of course, the debt crisis in Europe and the protests over austerity cuts in places like Athens and London make it clear that the traditional European welfare systems are undergoing very profound changes that may reduce mobility throughout the continent. But there is still opportunity in efficiency. Germans, for example, made a command decision after the financial

downturn in 2008 not to let unemployment rise because it would ultimately be more expensive to put people back to work than to pay to keep them in their jobs. The government subsidized companies to keep workers (as many as 1.4 million in 2009) on the payroll, even part time. Once the economy began to pick up, companies were ready to capitalize on it quickly. Unemployment is now 6%—lower than before the recession—and growth has stayed relatively high.

The Nordic nations, too, have figured out clever ways to combine strong economic growth with a decent amount of security. As in Germany, labor and corporate relations are collaborative rather than contentious. Union reps often sit on company boards, which makes it easier to curb excessive executive pay and negotiate compromises over working hours. Worker retraining is a high priority. Danish adults spend a lot of time in on-the-job training. That's one reason they also enjoy high real wages and relatively low unemployment.

The final lesson that might be learned is in tax policy. The more mobile European nations have fewer corporate loopholes, more redistribution to the poor and middle class via consumption taxes and far less complication. France's tax code, for example, is 12% as long as the U.S.'s. Tax levels are also higher, something that the enlightened rich in the U.S. are very publicly advocating.

No wonder. A large body of academic research shows that inequality and lack of social mobility hurt not just those at the bottom; they hurt everyone. Unequal societies have lower levels of trust, higher levels of anxiety and more illness. They have arguably less stable economies: International Monetary Fund research shows that countries like the U.S. and the U.K. are more prone to boom and bust cycles. And they are ultimately at risk for social instability.

That's the inflection point that we are at right now. The mythology of the American Dream has made it difficult to start a serious conversation about how to create more opportunity in our society, since many of us still believe that our mobility is the result of our elbow grease and nothing more. But there is a growing truth, seen in the numbers and in the protests that are spreading across our nation, that this isn't so. We can no longer blame the individual. We have to acknowledge that climbing the ladder often means getting some support and a boost. ■



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THE NEW GENERATION GAP

What divides Americans most isn't race, gender, geography or ideology. It is the year we were born

By Michael Crowley/Boca Raton



The Millennial Generation

Current age: 18-30

ALEXANDRA SERNA CAST THE FIRST presidential vote of her life in 2008, for Barack Obama, with enthusiasm and hope. Three years later, the 24-year-old, earning a degree in accounting at Florida Atlantic University (FAU), still supports the President. But her optimism has faded. "I think he's trying really hard," Serna says in a study room on the school's Boca Raton campus. Yet she's anxious about finding work after she gets her degree, and when asked whether she's politically engaged nowadays, she replies, "Personally, I'm not." While Serna isn't about to vote Republican in 2012, she hardly seems a sure bet to turn out for Obama.

Eating lunch in the food court of a sleepy shopping center 10 miles from the FAU campus, 78-year-old Walter Levy has few kind words for the President. The Navy veteran, who voted for John McCain in 2008, grouches about the state of the country and its government. "We're going backward right now," says the Fort Lauderdale resident. "The government's gotten itself too involved in everybody's life." His wife Concetta, 77, is more blunt. "I don't like the President's policies," she says. "I don't like Solyndra." The Levys are primed to vote Republican next year.

Listen to these three closely and you can hear the two Americas speaking. For the past several years, our political conversation has focused on great divides in our national life: red and blue, the coasts vs. the heartland, the 1% vs. the 99%. But the deepest split is the one that cuts across all these and turns not on income or geography but on age. In the past few national elections, young and old Americans have diverged more in their voting than at any other time since the end of the Vietnam War, according to the findings of an extensive new Pew Research Center poll. The survey reveals that the youngest and oldest voters have strikingly different views on everything from the role of government to the impact of the Internet and suggests that the 2012 election could be one of the starkest intergenerational showdowns in American history, not just in Florida but coast to coast. Different generations rarely vote in lockstep; each is shaped by different formative influences. But this is something unusual. "We've got the largest generation gap in voting since 1972," says Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center. "Since 2004 we've seen younger people voting much more Democratic than average and



The Silent Generation
Current age: 66-83

older people much more Republican than average. And that may well play out again in 2012." Indeed, Pew's *Generational Politics* poll shows a yawning generation gap in a hypothetical matchup between Obama and Republican Mitt Romney. Voters 30 or younger favor Obama 61% to 37%. Seniors over 65 choose Romney 54% to 41%. With Americans born from 1946 to 1980 (baby boomers and Gen Xers) almost evenly divided, the youngest and oldest voters stand in even starker contrast.

iPhones vs. IRAs

ON ONE SIDE ARE THE MILLENNIAL VOTERS, meaning Americans born after 1980 who have come of age during the Clinton, Bush or Obama presidencies. Having lived through a period of dramatic social and demographic change, these voters harbor strongly liberal-leaning views about society and government. That's partly because the U.S.'s youngest voters represent change: about 40% of them are nonwhite. As a group they lean left on social issues—strongly supporting interracial and same-sex marriages by wide majorities. They believe government has a positive role to play even in seniors' lives. Millennial voters, like so many

other Americans, consider themselves economically dissatisfied. And yet they believe, 46% to 27%, that life in the U.S. has improved since the 1960s, in part thanks to the technology revolution they have inherited. "I have an iPhone, and I would die without it," says FAU freshman Lizzie Barnes.

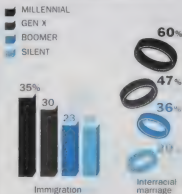
Whiter, less plugged in and feeling much grumpier is the Silent Generation, Americans over 65 who reached adulthood between World War II and the Vietnam War. The Silent Generation was profiled in a November 1951 *TIME* cover story that described its members as hardworking but docile and detached from political protest. Now in their 60s and 70s, members of this generation are restive, as likely to believe that the country has gone downhill as millennials are to think it has improved. They're more conservative than the so-called Greatest Generation seniors, who are older, remember the New Deal, may have served in World War II and are steadily passing away. "Part of what's going on is generational change," says Andrea Louise Campbell, an MIT professor who studies the senior vote. "Seniors who may have been socialized with memories of FDR and the Depression are being replaced by younger cohorts of seniors for

The Young and Old See the 2012 Vote Differently

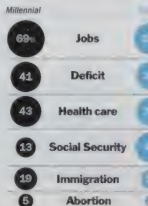


Older Americans Are Less Enthusiastic About Growing Diversity

% saying each is a change for the better



Which Issue Matters Most In Deciding Your Vote



who Eisenhower and Reagan are more relevant political figures."

Whatever the reason, today's seniors are nearly twice as likely as young voters to say life in the U.S. has changed for the worse, expressing that opinion 50% to 31%. They're particularly unhappy about social change, with only 22% saying a growing immigrant population has been a good thing and just 29% approving of interracial marriage. They're wary of the America that Steve Jobs built, dominated by new gadgets and technologies that many don't understand or use. Fewer than half of Silents—45%—believe the Internet has been a positive development. "You don't see the kids' faces anymore," says Sue Leese, 77, sitting outside a Bagel Works restaurant in Boca Raton. "They're constantly texting!"

Silent Generation members are twice as likely as millennials to call themselves "angry" with the government, and they trust Republicans more than Democrats on nearly every key issue. Obama appears to be a contributing factor in their discontent; they are the most disapproving of the job he's doing. How much of this disdain is a function of Obama's policies and how much is a comment on his background is anyone's guess. But some combination of the change he has

championed and the change he actually represents is too much for some of these voters to accept. "There is this sense that comes out of the poll that Obama represents the changing face of America that some older people are uncomfortable with," says Kohut.

Many seniors resent any implication that race or ethnic background is driving their political preferences. "When I voice my opinion, I don't like being called a racist," Concetta Levy says. It is true, however, that white voters of all ages are more likely to strongly disapprove of the President. But strong disapproval of Obama and "unease" about him are dramatically higher among white voters over 65 than among millennial whites.

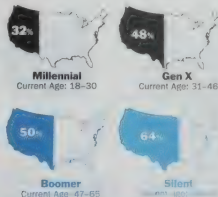
Apathy and Entitlements

AND YET FOR BOTH PARTIES, THERE'S A cautionary wobble in the simple notion of two generations colliding as the 2012 elections approach. The millennials and the Silents alike have deep qualms about their probable choices at the polls next year. That's especially true for the 30-and-under crowd. Although a massive turnout of voters like FAU student Serna helped carry Obama to the White House in 2008, young voters' approval of his job performance has

plummeted. So has their interest in the political process. Four years ago, 28% of voters age 30 or younger said they had given a lot of thought to the presidential candidates. Today that number is down to a paltry 13%. Young voters also say they care less about who is elected President than they did four years ago, when the presidential race meant nearly as much to them as it did to their grandparents. Only 69% of millennials now say they care "a good deal" about who wins the presidency, down from 81% four years ago. Such views suggest that many of those young 2008 Obama voters may be tuned out for good and that Democrats will do battle in 2012 without their most energetic foot soldiers. "They're not feeling loyal to the party," says Molly Andolina, a professor of political science at DePaul University who studies the youth vote. "Whether or not they're going to get out there and work in the trenches and show up on Election Day is a big question." Andolina also wonders whether the Occupy Wall Street movement could become a substitute outlet beyond the political system for the energy of frustrated young people. It's no wonder Obama has reached out to a younger audience of late through gestures like his new plan to relieve the crushing burden of student-loan

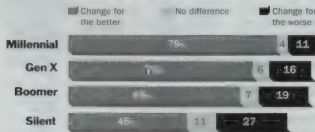
America the Exceptional, Or Not?

% saying the U.S. is "the greatest country in the world"



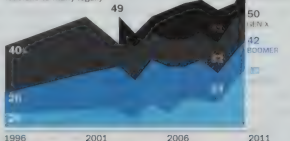
Silents Not Wild About the Web

% saying the invention of the Internet has been ...

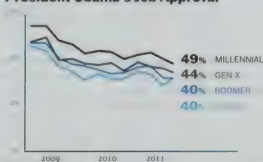


Same-Sex Marriage Divides The Generations

% who favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally



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Generation X
Current age: 31-46



The Boomer Generation
Current age: 47-65

debt and a series of Obama Student Summits kicking off this month.

Silent Generation voters, by contrast, appear, well, fired up and ready to go in 2012. They're more than three times as likely as young voters to be closely following the presidential candidates, and 84% say they care a good deal about who wins the next election. That makes them even more focused on this election than the millennials were in 2008. And they have already aired the dress rehearsal: young voters turned out in lower numbers in the 2010 elections, while the senior vote spiked in the midterms.

However, even as Silent Generation voters tilt heavily toward Republicans, they are hardly GOP loyalists. While they register a 39%-to-56% favorable-to-unfavorable opinion of Democrats, they dislike the Republican Party by a virtually identical ratio. The difference is that Silent Generation voters say they trust Republicans more to handle major issues like the economy, health care and immigration—with one exception: voters over 65 said they trusted Democrats to better handle Social Security. "That could undermine the Republican advantage" with seniors, says Kohut. That's all the more likely given that Silent voters care more about Social Security than any issue other than jobs.

Bracing for "Scare Tactics"

WHICH MEANS YOU CAN COUNT ON HEARING Obama and the Democrats talking nonstop over the next year about how

Republicans plan to slash entitlement programs, including Medicare and Social Security. Most Republicans counter that seniors don't have anything to worry about. Any such cuts, they say, like those in the budget blueprint of Wisconsin Congressman Paul Ryan, wouldn't touch benefits for voters currently 55 or older. "Republicans should expect the scare tactics that Democrats always go to," says Republican pollster Whit Ayres. Veteran consultants from both parties agree that a fierce Democratic message about entitlements helped the party win a longtime Republican seat in a May special election in New York State, where Democrats relentlessly attacked the GOP candidate, charging that she would rather slash Medicare and Social Security than raise taxes on the rich. Says MIT's Campbell: "Romney, I believe, is aware of this, and that's why I believe he's been careful to stick to a very moderate course on entitlement reform." Think of how the former Massachusetts governor pounced like a lion on his rival, Texas Governor Rick Perry, for calling Social Security a "Ponzi scheme."

For all the differences in their world-views, the generations are not in direct conflict, the Pew poll found, a mildly heartening conclusion in a country divided in many other ways. They disagree, but they don't view each other as the enemy: millennials are about as concerned as Silents (57% and 59%, respectively) that there may not be enough money in

the future to maintain Social Security and Medicare benefits at their current levels, which is a source of greater anxiety among the middle-aged Generation X and baby boomers (70% and 71%). Nearly every age group, including Silents, is concerned that sustaining those benefits might place too great a financial burden on younger generations, but the youngest Americans, who might have the most to fear from entitlement cuts, express slightly less concern than any other age group. If anything, the concern goes the other way: seniors seem ready to accept modifications in entitlements if it helps the next in line. In other words, young people don't want to pull the plug on Grandma to ease their student-loan repayments, while Silents don't reject the idea of means testing to spare their grandchildren a crushing debt burden. "I feel sorry for the young people," says Len Kaufman, 82, of Boca Raton. "We had a good run."

Things could still get tense. Although Washington has spent months deferring hard choices about the country's fiscal future, it may not be long before new austerity plans pit the generations in a clearer zero-sum game. For now, however, the young and old aren't competing. They are simply advocating two very different visions of what's good for, and about, the U.S. as a whole. And Obama's re-election may depend on which side speaks loudest next November. —WITH REPORTING BY HECTOR FLORIN/BOCA RATON ■

BRIEF SUMMARY FOR PATIENTS
BROVANA® (B^{ro} v^a -nah)
(arformoterol tartrate) Inhalation Solution

Twice-Daily

Brovana 15 mg

BROVANA is only for use with a nebulizer. Read the Medication Guide that comes with BROVANA before you start using it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Brief Summary does not take the place of talking to your healthcare provider about your medical condition or treatment.

What is the most important information I should know about BROVANA?

BROVANA can cause serious side effects, including:

- People with asthma, who take long-acting beta₂ adrenergic agonist (LABA) medicines, such as BROVANA, have an increased risk of death from asthma problems.
- It is not known if LABA medicines, such as BROVANA, increase the risk of death in people with chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD).
- Get emergency medical care if:
 - breathing problems worsen quickly
 - you use your rescue inhaler medicine, but it does not relieve your breathing problems

What is BROVANA?

BROVANA is used long term, 2 times each day (morning and evening), in controlling symptoms of chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) in adults with COPD.

BROVANA is only for use with a nebulizer.

LABA medicines such as BROVANA help the muscles around the airways in your lungs stay relaxed to prevent symptoms, such as wheezing, cough, chest tightness, and shortness of breath.

BROVANA should not be used in children.

It is not known if BROVANA is safe and effective in children. It is not known if BROVANA is safe and effective in people with asthma.

Who should not use BROVANA?

Do not use BROVANA if you:

- have had a serious allergic reaction to arformoterol, formoterol, or any of the ingredients in BROVANA. Ask your healthcare provider if you are not sure. See the Medication Guide for a complete list of ingredients in BROVANA.
- have asthma without using a long-term asthma control medicine.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before using BROVANA?

Tell your healthcare provider about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have heart problems
- have high blood pressure
- have seizures
- have thyroid problems
- have diabetes
- have liver problems
- are pregnant or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if BROVANA can harm your unborn baby.
- are breastfeeding. It is not known if BROVANA passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. BROVANA and certain other medicines may interact with each other. This may cause serious side effects. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How should I use BROVANA?

Read the step-by-step instructions for using BROVANA at the end of the Medication Guide.

• Use BROVANA exactly as prescribed. One ready-to-use vial of BROVANA is one dose. The usual dose of BROVANA is 1 ready-to-use vial, twice a day (morning and evening) breathed in through your nebulizer machine. The 2 doses should be about 12 hours apart.

Do not use more than 2 ready-to-use vials of BROVANA a day.

- Do not swallow or inject BROVANA.
- BROVANA is for use with a standard jet nebulizer machine connected to an air compressor. Read the complete instructions for use at the end of the Medication Guide before starting BROVANA.
- Do not mix other medicines with BROVANA in your nebulizer machine.
- If you miss a dose of BROVANA. Just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take 2 doses at one time.
- While you are using BROVANA 2 times each day:
 - do not use other medicines that contain a long-acting beta₂-agonist (LABA) for any reason.
 - do not use your short-acting beta₂-agonist medicine on a regular basis (four times a day).

BROVANA does not relieve sudden symptoms of COPD. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to treat sudden symptoms. If you do not have a rescue inhaler medicine, call your healthcare provider to have one prescribed for you.

• Do not stop using BROVANA or other medicines to control or treat your COPD unless told to do so by your healthcare provider because your symptoms might get worse. Your healthcare provider will change your medicines as needed.

- Do not use BROVANA:
 - more often than prescribed
 - more medicine than prescribed to you
 - with other LABA medicines

Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care right away if:

- your breathing problems worsen with BROVANA
- you need to use your rescue inhaler medicine more often than usual
- your rescue inhaler medicine does not work as well for you at relieving symptoms

What are the possible side effects with BROVANA?

BROVANA can cause serious side effects, including:

- See "What is the most important information I should know about BROVANA?"
- Sudden shortness of breath immediately after use of BROVANA
- If your COPD symptoms worsen over time do not increase your dose of BROVANA, instead call your healthcare provider.
- Increased blood pressure
- Fast or irregular heartbeat
- serious allergic reactions including rash, hives, swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue, and breathing problems.

Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any symptoms of a serious allergic reaction.

Common side effects of BROVANA include:

- chest or back pain
- diarrhea
- sinus congestion
- headache
- tremor
- nervousness
- leg cramps
- high blood potassium
- shortness of breath
- rash
- fever
- increased white blood cells
- vomiting
- tiredness
- leg swelling
- chest congestion or bronchitis

Tell your healthcare provider if you get any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with BROVANA. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store BROVANA?

- Store BROVANA in a refrigerator between 36° to 46°F (2° to 8°C) in the protective foil pouch. Protect from light and excessive heat. **Do not open a sealed pouch until you are ready to use a dose of BROVANA. After opening the pouch, unused ready-to-use vials should be returned to, and stored in, the pouch. An opened ready-to-use vial should be used right away.** BROVANA may be used directly from the refrigerator.
- BROVANA may also be stored at room temperature between 68°F to 77°F (20°C to 25°C) for up to 6 weeks (42 days). If stored at room temperature, discard BROVANA if it is not used after 6 weeks or if past the expiration date, whichever is sooner. Space is provided on the packaging to record room temperature storage times.
- Do not use BROVANA after the expiration date provided on the foil pouch and ready-to-use vial.
- BROVANA should be colorless. Discard BROVANA if it is not colorless.
- Keep BROVANA and all medicines out of the reach of children.

General information about BROVANA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes not mentioned in a Medication Guide. Do not use BROVANA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give BROVANA to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.

This Brief Summary summarizes the most important information about BROVANA. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. You can ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for information about BROVANA that was written for healthcare professionals.

- For customer service, call 1-888-394-7377.
- To report side effects, call 1-877-737-7226.
- For medical information, call 1-800-739-0565.

Manufactured for:
Sunovion Pharmaceuticals Inc.
Marlborough, MA 01752 USA

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WHEN WILL WE LEARN?

Education is the engine of social mobility, and it's sputtering. Americans have two options: improve our schools or accept a lower standard of living

By Fareed Zakaria



FOR THE PAST MONTH, WE HAVE ALL marveled at the life of Steve Jobs, the adopted son of working-class parents, who dropped out of college and became one of the great technologists and businessmen of our time. How did he do it? He was, of course, an extraordinary individual, and that explains much of his success, but his environment might also have played a role. Part of the environment was education. And it is worth noting that Jobs got a great secondary education. The school he attended, Homestead High in Cupertino, Calif., was a first-rate public school that gave him a grounding in both the liberal arts and technology. It did the same for Steve Wozniak, the more technically oriented co-founder of Apple Computer, whom Jobs met at that same school.

In 1972, the year Jobs graduated, California's public schools were the envy of the world. They were generally rated the finest in the country, well funded and well run, with excellent teachers. These schools were engines of social mobility that took people like Jobs and Wozniak and gave them an educational grounding that helped them rise.

Today, California's public schools are a disaster, beset by dysfunction and disrepair. They rank at the bottom of the country, just as the U.S. now sits at the bottom of the industrialized world by most measures of educational achievement. The World Economic Forum ranks the U.S.'s

educational system 26th in the world, well behind those of countries like Germany, Finland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Canada and Singapore. In science and math, we score even worse.

We've been talking about America's education decline for three decades now, so much so that we are numb by the discussion. But the consequences of that crisis are only just becoming fully apparent. As American education has collapsed, the median wages of the American worker have stagnated, and social mobility—the beating heart of the American dream—has slowed to a standstill. Education is and always has been the fastest way up the socioeconomic ladder. And the payoff from a good education remains evident even in this weak recovery. The unemployment rate for college graduates is just 4%, but for high school dropouts it is 14%. If you drop out of high school—and the U.S. has a 25% dropout rate—you will have a depressed standard of living for the rest of your life.

The need for better education for most Americans has never been more urgent. While we have been sleeping, the rest of the world has been upgrading its skills. Countries in Europe and Asia have worked hard to increase their college-graduation rates, while the U.S.—once the world's highest—has flattened. Other countries have focused on math and science, while in America degrees have proliferated in “fields” like sports exercise and leisure studies.

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Bill Gross, the head of Pimco, the world's largest bond fund, sums it up in no uncertain terms: "Our labor force is too expensive and poorly educated for today's marketplace." There are two variables here: our educational levels, which are low, and our wages, which are high. Either we will raise our educational level or markets will lower our wages.

How to do it? Well, there is one simple, time-tested method. Work harder. Thomas Edison said that genius is 1% inspiration and 99% perspiration. Malcolm Gladwell thought that behind many supposedly natural-born talents like musical ability lay lots of practice—by his calculations, about 10,000 hours of practice. U.S. schoolchildren spend less time in school than their peers abroad. They have shorter school days and a shorter school year. Children in South Korea will spend almost two years more in school than Americans by the end of high school. Is it really so strange that they score higher on tests?

If South Korea teaches the importance of hard work, Finland teaches another lesson. Finnish students score near the very top on international tests, yet they do not follow the Asian model of study, study and more study. Instead they start school a year later than in most countries, emphasize creative work and shun tests for most of the year. But Finland has great teachers, who are paid well and treated with the same professional respect that is accorded to doctors and lawyers. They are found and developed through an extremely competitive and rigorous process. All teachers are required to have master's degrees, and only 1 in 10 applicants is accepted to the country's teacher-training programs. The contrast with the U.S. is stark. Half of America's teachers graduated in the bottom third of their college class.

Bill Gates has spent about \$5 billion trying to research and reform American education. I asked him, if he were running a school district and could wave a magic wand, what he would do. His response: hire the best teachers. That's what produces the best results for students, more than class size or money or curriculum. "So the basic research into great teaching, that's now become our biggest investment," he says. One study estimates that if black students had a top-quartile teacher rather than a bottom-quartile teacher four years in a row, that would be enough to close the black-white test-score gap.

There are many more ideas, many of them worthwhile and worth trying, but you can get lost in the details of the education debate. These two seem simple—work

Not Making the Grade

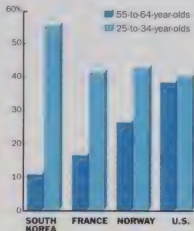


How new U.S. teachers scored on the SAT/ACT

26th

Global rank of the U.S. educational system

Percentage of each age group holding a college degree



Source: McKinsey & Co.; World Economic Forum; the College Board

more and get better teachers. Yet implementing them is anything but simple. They bump up against an education system that is deeply resistant to change and teachers' unions that jealously guard their prerogatives. All the specific measures that would allow students to work more and good teachers to be identified and rewarded—more days, longer hours, merit pay—are mostly opposed by the teachers' unions and other guardians of the status quo.

When you get depressed by the obstacles to reforming the educational bureaucracy, you can get excited by the meta-reformers on the outside who are trying to revolutionize the system.

Take Sal Khan, who accidentally created what might well be a new way of teaching. Seven years ago, the MIT graduate was helping his cousin, who lived across the U.S., with her math homework. When scheduling got difficult, a friend suggested he put

the diagrams and equations he had drawn on YouTube so she could access them. Five years later, Khan has produced 3,000 videos teaching mostly math and science that have been viewed 80 million times!

But the real revolution has been in the classroom. Last year, Los Altos, Calif., decided to use the Khan Academy videos and software in its public-school classrooms. Doing so turns the educational model on its head. In the traditional method, students sit in class and receive information from their teacher while they busily take notes—a passive process that wastes valuable classroom time. They do the most challenging work—solving problems—at home without help. Under the new system, they watch the Khan Academy videos at home and solve problems in class, where the teacher's talents can be put to use most fruitfully. In addition, students can learn at their own pace—rewatching videos—until they actually understand the material. The early results show huge leaps in student skills. Technology is being used to create a customized, interactive education that is both novel and powerful.

The reason that I am so taken by the Khan Academy—other than that I have used its videos with my 12-year-old son—is that it is a quintessentially American innovation, a new way of thinking about education.

I went through the Asian educational system, which is now so admired. It gave me an impressive base of knowledge and taught me how to study hard and fast. But when I got to the U.S. for college, I found that it had not trained me that well to think. American education at its best teaches you how to solve problems, truly understand the material, question authority, think for yourself and be creative. It teaches you to learn what you love and to love learning. These are incredibly important values, and they are why the U.S. has been able to maintain an edge in creative industries and innovation in general.

The U.S. should truly fix its educational system by emphasizing the basics—like hard work—again but also by renewing its distinctly American character. We will succeed not by becoming more Asian but by becoming, as the writer James Fallows put it once, "more like us." That's what made America the world's most dynamic society—and it can make it so again. ■

Watch Fareed Zakaria's CNN special, **Restoring the American Dream: Fixing Education**, Sunday, Nov. 6, at 8 p.m. and 11 p.m. ET

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LET'S GO.




WORLD

Desperate measures

Young Tibetan monks in Kardze. Throughout greater Tibet, objections to Chinese rule have become increasingly nihilistic





BURNING DESIRE FOR FREEDOM

After 60 years of Chinese rule,
some Tibetan monks have
resorted to self-immolation.
Where will their protests lead?

BY HANNAH BEECH/TAWU

THERE ARE NO FLOWERS OR MEMORIALS to mark the spot where Tsewang Norbu died. On Aug. 15, the 29-year-old Tibetan monk living in the remote Chinese outpost of Tawu gulped down kerosene, bathed his body in the combustible liquid and struck a match. As he burned in the center of town, Norbu shouted for freedom in Tibet and screamed his love for the Dalai Lama, the exiled spiritual leader. Two and a half months later, under the cover of night, I visit the bridge in Tawu (or Daofu in Chinese) where Norbu ended his life. The town is under virtual lockdown. New security cameras affixed to lamp-posts record all movements. Half a block away, a few Chinese police cradle machine guns. Every few minutes, a reddish glow—from the flashing lights of police vehicles on constant patrol—illuminates the site of martyrdom.

Tibet is burning. Since Norbu's fiery death, eight more Tibetan clerics or former monks have set themselves on fire to protest China's repressive rule over Tibetan areas. At least six have died this year, including Norbu, a pair of teenage monks and a young nun whose charred body was seized in late October by Chinese security forces. Tibetan Buddhism is well known for the life-affirming mantras of its smiling leader, the Dalai Lama. But self-immolation is becoming a symbolic weapon of choice for young clerics still living in Tibetan regions in China.

The incendiary displays prove that a new, nihilistic desperation has descended on the Tibetan plateau. Ever since widespread protests erupted three years ago following ethnic riots, Chinese security forces have turned the Tibetan regions, which encompass Tibet proper and parts of four other Chinese provinces, into a razor-wire security zone. Thousands of Tibetans have been jailed. Clerics have been forced to publicly denounce the Dalai Lama. Local officials have been shepherded into propaganda classes. Parts of the plateau have been periodically closed to foreigners.

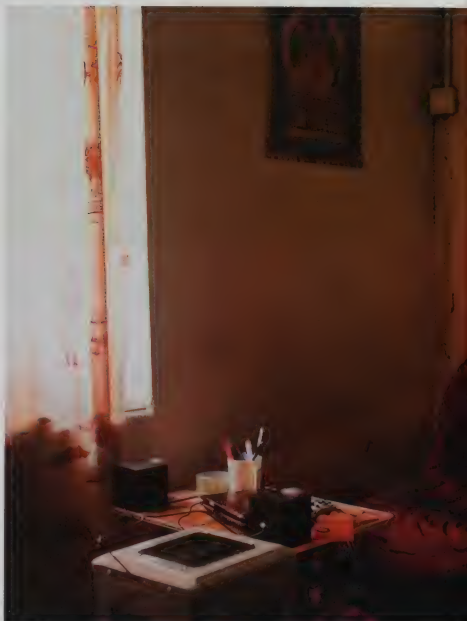
Instead of cowering Tibetans, the security onslaught has only caused local anger to metastasize. Beyond self-immolation, small-scale protests—a Free Tibet pamphlet here, a slogan supporting the Dalai Lama there—keep flaring, especially in the eastern Tibetan region known as

Kham. In mid-October, Chinese security forces shot two protesting Tibetans from Kham's Kardze autonomous prefecture, where Tawu is also located. On Oct. 26, a nighttime bomb exploded at a government building in eastern Tibet. Graffiti scrawled on the building demanded Tibetan independence, and flyers scattered nearby called for the Dalai Lama's return from exile in India, where he sought refuge after a failed uprising in 1959. "We cannot stand the situation anymore," says one young monk from Kardze. "There will be more violence because the Tibetans have lost all trust in the Chinese government."

The Dalai Lama for years has tried to improve relations with Beijing by saying he wants only meaningful autonomy for Tibet, not independence. His attempt at peaceful compromise has been dubbed the

"middle way." Even so, on Oct. 29, he held the Chinese government directly accountable for the self-immolations. "The local leader must look at what's the real causes of death," he said. "It's their own sort of wrong policy, ruthless policy, illogical policy." Two days later, the Chinese government's official mouthpiece, the *People's Daily*, compared the Dalai Lama and his flock to sect leader David Koresh and his followers who perished in the 1993 siege in Waco, Texas.

THIS PAST SUMMER, BEIJING CELEBRATED the 60th anniversary of what it calls the "peaceful liberation of Tibet." The Chinese Communist Party's version of history goes like this: Tibetan serfs struggling under the feudal yoke of Buddhist god-kings welcomed the socialist liberators,





Secret allegiance A picture of the Dalai Lama hangs on a bedroom wall despite Chinese bans

either Kardze (known as Ganzi in Chinese) or the neighboring Ngaba (or Aha) prefecture. Despite Tibet's peaceful image, the Khampas, as people from Kham are known, were renowned for centuries as fierce warriors. In the 1950s, the CIA even trained a militia of mostly Khampa resistance fighters that numbered in the thousands. But as Sino-American relations warmed in the 1970s, Washington withdrew its financial support. The Dalai Lama sent a taped message to the guerrillas urging them to lay down their guns. Some committed suicide rather than give up their armed struggle.

More than 60 years after communist forces marched in, the high-altitude grasslands of Kardze still feel like an occupied territory. The prefectural capital's Chinese name, Kangding, can literally mean "stabilize Kham." Giant propaganda billboards loom above grazing yaks and tidy Tibetan settlements. "The police and citizens together share a common purpose to foster development," says one in Chinese, a language that many Tibetans cannot read. "Red flags across the sky," says another. "In the same boat we work together to build a peaceful environment." Police jeeps rumble across unpaved paths past Tibetan nomads with gold-capped teeth, who squint through the swirl of road dust. Monasteries I visit are staffed with plainclothes police officers, easy to distinguish with their buzz cuts and alert eyes. It's not just the thin air of a region that rises well over 13,000 ft. (4,000 m) above sea level that makes moving around here tiring. So many people, one feels, are either pretending not to watch anything or watching too carefully. The attention is exhausting.

Across Tibetan regions, owning a picture of the man Beijing calls "a wolf in monk's clothes" invites prison time. But in Kardze, I see the Dalai Lama's visage everywhere. Each monastery I go to has his picture tucked away somewhere. Maroon-clad monks pull cell phones out of their thick robes to show me snapshots of their spiritual leader. The Dalai Lama's image nestles between packets of peanuts and toilet paper in a small provisions store. A woman wells up with tears when I tell her I have been to Dharamsala, the Indian hill station where he lives.

who dramatically raised the region's living standards. The truth is more complicated. Tibet may have been poor and isolated when the People's Liberation Army began its invasion in 1950, but it was also a land whose people considered themselves essentially independent. (China says Tibet has been an inviolable part of its territory for centuries.) The Chinese government's efforts to tame the Tibetans, ranging from brutal crackdowns to economic enticements, have failed. Despite decades of so-called patriotic education, Tibetans still revere the Dalai Lama and see themselves as "completely Tibetan, not even 1% Chinese," as one Kardze resident tells me.

Over the past few years, a massive influx of Han, China's majority ethnic group, into Tibetan areas has further in-

flamed tensions. Tibetans complain that the best jobs and access to the region's plentiful natural resources go to Han migrants. Police officers tend to be Han, as are many bureaucrats. The highest Communist Party post in Tibet has never gone to a Tibetan. The Tibetan language is taught in some schools, but fluency in Chinese is required for government careers, and official documents are in Mandarin. "If we don't do something, our Tibetan culture will be extinguished," says a high-ranking monk at a Kardze monastery popular with Han tourists. "That is why the situation is so urgent. That's why we are trying to save our people and our nation."

Kardze, in the Kham borderlands between Han and Tibetan areas, is on the front line of this battle. All the self-immolations to date have occurred in

Despite the locals' reverence, the Dalai Lama's message of nonviolence and compassion—precisely what makes the Tibetan movement so popular abroad—seems to be fraying. All the Kardze monks I ask say they understand why their fellow clerics immolated themselves, breaking Buddhist vows against the taking of life. "They did this not as individuals but for the Tibetan people," says a 20-year-old monk. "I admire their courage."

Monks on fire grab headlines. News of the ritual suicides has traveled fast through Tibetan regions, even as the Chinese government has severed Internet connections and suspended text-messaging services in certain areas. But when talking with young, rosy-cheeked monks in Kardze, in their dormitory rooms with posters of the Dalai Lama next to those of NBA stars, it is easy to feel the futility of the immolations. The Khampas may have once been proud warriors, yet they are hardly a fighting force now. Xinhua, the Chinese state news agency, ran a story last month about weapons being smuggled from Burma to Tibetan separatists. But rusty guns from a third-world backwater can hardly compete with the technological might of the People's Liberation Army. Those who note that a street vendor's self-immolation catalyzed a revolution in Tunisia must also accept that the Han majority's sympathies do not lie with the Tibetans. The Han have their own frustrations with the ruling Communist Party. The treatment of Tibetans is not one of them.

I TALK TO A HALF-HAN, HALF-TIBETAN government official who grew up in Tawu. He is friendly and polite—and he wants me to know the real situation in his hometown. The Tibetans, he says, are greedy. The government gives them

everything from preferential loans to new infrastructure, but still they want more. The Tibetan plateau's lunar landscape is littered with clusters of houses the Chinese government built for nomads. Yet like some American real estate developments abandoned during the subprime-mortgage crisis, many of these houses in Kardze are empty. Few Tibetan nomads want to live in Chinese houses. The government worker does not understand it. They are nice houses, he says, much warmer in winter than a yak-wool tent. "If we were to give the Tibetans independence," he says, "they would starve and have no clothes on their back."

Unlike many Chinese communist bureaucrats who merely mouth the appropriate ideology, the Tawu cadre explains his position with conviction. The Dalai Lama and his sister, who escaped to India with him, are the ones orchestrating all the strife, he says, his voice rising in anger. "When the Dalai Lama dies," he tells me, "all of China's problems with the Tibetans will go away. Younger Tibetans are being educated in the proper way, so they won't cause much trouble."

But from everything I've seen, the opposite is true. First, it is young Tibetans who are sacrificing their lives, even though their schooling is steeped in pro-Chinese propaganda. Second, even among the large community of Tibetans in Dharamsala, the seat of the Tibetan government-in-exile, an intense debate is raging over whether the spiritual leader's middle way of nonviolent negotiation with Beijing has done more harm than good. The Dalai Lama is more moderate than many Tibetans, who believe Beijing is unwilling to offer any meaningful concessions. In the Kham highlands, passions are rising with every monk who bursts into flames.

When I visited Dharamsala recently, I met Tsewang Dhondup, a trader from Kardze who fled his homeland after the 2008 unrest. That year, riots between Tibetans and Han led to deaths on both sides. The Chinese military's reaction to further rallies by Tibetans left some 150 dead, according to exile estimates. Dhondup was shot while trying to help a monk who later died of bullet wounds. WANTED signs with Dhondup's picture were posted in his village, but friends took him by stretcher high into the mountains. Mag-

gots infested his wounds. Dhondup lived for 14 months on the edge of a glacier before escaping to India. His audience with the Dalai Lama, he says, was the most treasured moment of his life. But even he predicts that "once the Dalai Lama is gone, Tibet will explode."

Even now, the Tibetan monks' refusal to disavow their exiled leader has played a role in sparking this wave of conflict. Tsewang Norbu, the monk who set himself on fire in Tawu, lived in the Nyitso monastery, which was prevented from



Chinese efforts to tame the Tibetans, ranging from brutal crackdowns to economic enticements, have failed



celebrating the Dalai Lama's birthday in July. In previous years, locals say, monks could quietly mark the moment without official intervention. But this year was different. For the monks' disobedience, government officials cut Nyitso's water and electricity. The siege went on for weeks before Norbu emerged from the monastery and walked down the hill to the center of town. For a few minutes, he passed out pamphlets advocating Tibetan independence and celebrating the Dalai Lama. Then out came the kerosene.

It is dark when I drive by the Nyitso monastery. Security cameras are everywhere, as are police vehicles and plainclothes agents. The bulk of the monastery looms behind a wall, and I cannot see anything of interest, certainly not any monks. Many have been removed and sent to re-education camps, according to locals and exile groups, just as in the Kirti monastery in Ngaba, which has produced seven monks or former clerics who have self-immolated. The Tawu government worker says some of

Living on a prayer A monk lays robes out to dry in a monastery in Kardze. Tibetan cultural traditions are under threat from Chinese policies

the remaining monks in Nyitso are spies who have been deployed to monitor the others. All is gray and shadowy. But I finally see something bright against a wall just inside the monastery. It is not, as I had hoped, a monk in maroon robes. Instead, it is a fire extinguisher, shiny and red and new. —WITH REPORTING BY CHENGCHENG JIANG/TAWU ■

THOUGHT CONTROL

It's no Jedi mind trick. A former schoolteacher has developed a device that allows you to operate a screen just by concentrating

BY JOHN CLOUD/TORONTO

NOT LONG AGO, A MANAGER AT the Ontario Power Generation (OPG) nuclear plant outside Toronto was completing a routine drill. The manager had to demonstrate that he could accurately instruct a computer to open and close a series of simulated valves—valves crucial to controlling the water and pressure that keep radioactive material contained. But this particular demonstration was unusual, since Lanzanin was operating the valves with his mind. He never touched a keyboard. And when his brain was focused enough to tell the valves onscreen to open or close, they obeyed.

The employee was channeling his thoughts through a new device that measures the ebb and flow of the brain's electrical activity. Called the BodyWave, the iPod-size tool straps onto your arm and—via three sensors that touch your skin—detects levels of neurotransmissions flowing through the central nervous system. Scientists have known for years that brain activity can be measured in wave patterns. Broadly speaking, the

brain generates four kinds of patterns: delta (seen most often during sleep), theta (when you're daydreaming or catnapping), alpha (often observed when you are aware but relaxed, like during a massage or a long run) and finally—the key one for cognitive processing—beta waves. By measuring these waves, the BodyWave device can determine when your concentration has peaked—and therefore, when you are primed to make an important decision.

The technology is complicated, but the implications are staggering. What if you could wear a device that told you when your brain was focused enough to make a split-second decision: when to put a scalpel into a patient, when to execute a stock trade, when to make a putt on the 18th green—or when to activate a nuclear plant valve?

The BodyWave device is being used not only in training at OPG but also at NASA, where it is being researched for pilots operating supersonic aircraft. In North

Inventor Peter Freer uses EEG technology to improve attention dramatically



Carolina, the Richard Childress NASCAR team is using the BodyWave to help its pit crews learn to focus. Tire changers on a NASCAR team are expected to be able to remove five lug nuts in one second. Losing focus means losing races.

So how exactly does the BodyWave work? The technology is based on electroencephalography (EEG), the study of how brain activity—from automatic impulses like breathing to active thoughts like what to have for dinner—excites neurons to emit brain waves. This electrical activity originates in the brain but is transported along the central nervous system. You can wear the BodyWave on your arm or, actually, anywhere on the skin, which is highly sensitive to changes in the central nervous system. (That's one reason you redden when embarrassed.) The sensors register the electrical charges that occur in your brain when you concentrate hard. The act of concentration necessitates the firing of neurons in careful synchrony. That synchrony produces a unique electrical signature that can be measured. When you stop concentrating, the synchrony breaks and the signature changes. The BodyWave then transmits this change through a simple receiver plugged into a USB port. A computer can tell you, in real time, whether you've been focused or were pondering what to do this weekend.

True, most people can easily discern when they have been daydreaming. But the evolutionary process hasn't sharpened that discernment enough to prevent stupid accidents—drifting into the other lane, say, or slicing into a finger instead of the carrot on the cutting board. The promise of EEG technology is that it can alert you to inattention before you are aware of it. Right now, the BodyWave is the only EEG device on the market that simply attaches to the skin and requires no wires to be inserted or attached to the head. But it has a serious flaw: it can transmit your data only to a computer screen. If NASA trainers are looking at the screen, they can see that you have lost focus before you know it. But the device itself has no light or sound that can tell a casual user to stop before they do something stupid.

The creator of the device is working to fix this problem. He isn't a Jobs or a Zuckerberg, but rather a former school teacher named Peter Freer. Freer, who is 52 and lives outside Asheville, N.C., is a tinkerer, but one possessed of expansive sensibilities. As a child in Millbrook, N.Y., in the 1960s, he would occasionally visit a neighbor's house to play with the kids.



The BodyWave The iPod-size device straps onto your arm

The house was populated with strange characters, and its owner turned out to be Timothy Leary.

Freer acquired one of those temperaments that are open to experimentation but are also somewhat aimless. After he eventually got a job teaching science in North Carolina schools, he noticed that many of his students diagnosed with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder had little trouble paying attention. "I would see a student daydreaming," Freer recalls. "After class, I would ask him, 'What can you tell me about my class?' He could tell me about a bird he saw outside—its color and where it was on a tree. He could tell me that the AC kept turning on and off at regular intervals. He could remember what the boy next to him was wearing. And he knew a little about the lesson. This kid had paid plenty of attention. It was sustaining and fully directing attention that was an issue for him."

Freer had taken computer courses at Western Carolina University, and he thought there might be a way to devise software that could measure attention in real time. He discovered that NASA had been using EEG for years to illustrate to pilots that concentration has two murderous enemies: hyparousal (letting your mind drift) and hyperarousal (trying so hard to focus that the effort itself becomes distracting). Throughout the 1980s and '90s, NASA and other big institutions explored EEG technology using huge, helmet-like apparatuses that surrounded the head with scores of cables.

Freer saw an opportunity: What if a simple consumer device could show ordinary people when their concentration was drifting? It was a very cool, very naive idea. It was cool because Freer, as a

science teacher, understood that you don't need cables attached to the scalp to measure neurotransmission. Because skin is a fantastic conductor of electricity, sensors anywhere on the body would be able to detect changes in the brain's electrical pulses. Freer's idea was naive because—again, as a science teacher—he had no money to build a consumer-level EEG sensor. So he took another job, as a martial-arts instructor, and then a third job as a security guard at a restaurant. Freer says he put \$300,000 on credit cards before finally seeing the first BodyWave prototype five years ago.

It wasn't long before EEG experts began to notice Freer's technology. Rob Templeton was one of the first. He helps run the training program at OPG. Like any nuclear plant, it requires not only years of training for employees but also constant retraining. No matter their age, operators who work in the main control room must spend one week out of every six in retraining exercises. A few years ago, Templeton was reading a trade publication when he ran across a story about a company—Freer's—developing portable hardware that could address attention deficits. He cold-called the company.

Giddy and nervous, Freer then developed specific software for OPG. Operators strap on the BodyWave and then see, on-screen, a series of 20 valves. Instructions appear in the top left corner. For instance:

1. Operate hand switch 2QFX96 from OFF to ON.
2. Place selector switch 4PtBEU26 to OFF.

Technicians can execute these commands only by focusing to the point that beta waves start to flow. Once the BodyWave registers peak betas, it instructs the computer to perform the tasks.

The BodyWave is discomfiting to many users because it can detect changes in your thoughts before you do. What if the computer gets it wrong? Trainers at OPG, NASA and NASCAR told me they use the device not to judge performance but rather to improve it. Still, there's a fine line between training and evaluation. If you can't train well with the BodyWave strapped to your arm, doesn't that mean you can't control your thoughts? Shouldn't you then lose your job?

Freer says he doesn't want the BodyWave used as a punishment but as a tool. He and his small team are now developing software for golfers. A player wearing the BodyWave would wait to see a light indicating full concentration before making a putt. Whether the resulting putt would be considered cheating or attaining perfect focus is an open question.



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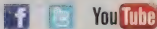
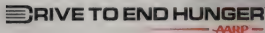


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William Ford's painting
The Man of the Woods,
part of a series
inspired by John James
Audubon's mammals

PAGE 60

The Culture

60 POP CHART Adele cancels / **62 TUNED IN** All-American
Muslim / **64 SOCIETY** The etiquette business / **69 HEALTH**
Labels with less / **71 BOOKS** Stephen King's latest



Coca-Cola

More than 1 billion red Coke cans will be turned white to raise money for polar bears.



TELEVISION

A Colorful Comeback

In honor of its 25th anniversary, Fox will bring back *Living Color*, its sketch-comedy series from the early 1990s, as two half-hour specials next spring. Creator Keenen Ivory Wayans (above left) is set to host, but no word yet on whether cast member Jim Carrey or Fly Girl Jennifer Lopez will make any appearances.



MONKEY BUSINESS Through Dec. 23, a famous face will greet visitors to New York City's Paul Kasmin Gallery. Walton Ford's work *I Don't Like to Look at Him*, Jack consists of three watercolor cleopseups based on the 1933 film *King Kong*. Joining the beast are six paintings inspired by the memoirs of John James Audubon, in which monkeys prey on exotic birds.

1000

Jenny Slate

If she had lasted more than one season on *Saturday Night Live*, Slate probably wouldn't have created Marcel, the shy shell whose stop-motion animated short film *Marcel the Shell with Shoes On* became a viral hit last year.

Why Murrel? It was after *SNL*, and I felt smushed down. I wanted to voice this little guy who says, in a loving way, There is nothing wrong with me.

And why was your children's book, *Marched the Shell with Shells On: Things About Me*, the most-cherished? I love the challenge of making something that doesn't talk down to kids.

What other Muppet projects are in the works? We're in Los Angeles now, working on a TV show. We want it to be like *The Muppet Show*, where comedians can go to have the best time in a world made out of shells. —RACHEL SYME



"I wanted to reveal the monster's grief, his enormous sadness," says Ford.



CRIME
Bloods.
Crips.
Juggalos?

Fans tilt horror-core rap group Insane Clown Posse have a proclivity for face paint and call themselves Juggalos. But the FBI calls them criminals: according to the bureau's annual *National Gang Threat Assessment*, they are "a loosely organized hybrid gang" whose members vandalize, do drugs and commit acts of petty theft. Oddly, the report mentions IC3—the Juggalos' very reason for being—only in a footnote.



BOOKS
The Never-Ending Story

In 1982, Robert Caro wrote the first volume of his biography of President Lyndon B. Johnson (above). Next May, almost 30 years later, he will publish *The Passage of Power*, the fourth volume of his seemingly endless work. Incredibly, a fifth entry in the series will eventually follow. By which point we may all be dead.



CRIMSON COUPLE Fred Herzog shot his first roll of color film on the streets of Vancouver in 1953, documenting everything from billboards to pedestrians to cars. More than 50 years later, the early color pioneer has taken some 120,000 pictures. A fraction of that output, including 1961's *Red Stockings*, above, appears in the lensman's new book, *Fred Herzog: Photographs*, published by Douglas & McIntyre.

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BOX OFFICE

You Want Me to Be in a Movie? No Problem

According to Guinness World Records, Samuel L. Jackson is the highest-grossing actor ever, with films that have earned an estimated \$7.2 billion over his nearly 40-year career. What's his secret? We suspect it's that he rarely turns down a role, especially if it has the words *Star Wars* in the title.



They're
Fred Herzog's
photographs of
the streets of
Vancouver



OUCH Don't Speak

Just when you thought nothing more could go wrong for poor Adele—who canceled the U.S. leg of her tour last month after a vocal-cord hemorrhage—the British soul singer has been forced to scrap the rest of the year's concerts to undergo throat surgery.

A Yuletide
Lulu
LOVE I WANT
TO BE A PART
THIS YEAR

1. A Santa shortage.
The Charles W. Howard Santa Claus School in Michigan graduated 120 new St. Nicks just in time for the holiday season.

2. Seeing who sent that last e-mail.
Gmail's redesign will add a profile photo to every message.

3. Finding time to listen to Lulu.
The Lou Reed and Metallica collaboration is so bad, you shouldn't even bother.

4. Hipster guys.
After separating from her husband, Death Cab for Cutie's Ben Gibbard, indie goddess Zoëy Deschanel is back on the market.



BIZARRE The Yellow Man And the Sea

After an 8 ft. tall, 100-lb. Lego statue washed ashore in Florida, a local sheriff's office took it into protective custody. We assume that there's either a race of giant banana-colored men plying the ocean waves or, more likely, an artist with a yen for big toys.

Tuned In



Mideast Meets Midwest. TLC's *All-American Muslim* makes Islam homey

By James Poniewozik

WHEN I WAS GROWING UP IN MONROE, Mich., one of our biggest football games each season was against the Fordson High Tractors, from the Detroit suburb of Dearborn—a perennially tough team and Monroe's rival since 1928. I knew, vaguely, that Dearborn had the largest Arab-American population in the U.S., but all I saw were beefy guys in football helmets. It's not as if they called themselves the Fordson Crescents.

What never occurred to me until I watched *All-American Muslim* (debuting Nov. 13 on TLC) was that the Tractors face a training challenge unlike most

schools in the football-loving Midwest. Those years when the holy month of Ramadan lands in football season—and Muslims abstain from food and drink during daylight—players risk dangerous dehydration. So for a month, the Tractors practice at night, from 10 p.m. until 5 a.m. In the first episode of *All-American*, coach Fouad Zaban calls a meeting and tells the team his plan to sacrifice sleep for safety. Then they go out onto the practice field to knock some heads.

It is at this intersection, where *Friday Night Lights* meets the Friday call to

prayer, that the fascinating *All-American Muslim* lives. Reality shows are not known for ethnic nuance; see the spicy meatball Italian stereotypes of *The Real Housewives of New Jersey* and *Jersey Shore*. But this eight-part series takes a people that pop culture has spent a decade making sinister and exotic and recasts them as refreshingly ordinary.

TLC WAS DEVELOPING THE SHOW AT A time when Muslim bashing erupted like some kind of delayed stress reaction to 9/11. Protesters screamed against an Islamic center planned near Ground Zero. (Sarah Palin, a TLC star herself last fall, enjoined "peaceful" Muslims to "refute" the project.) Fox and NPR analyst Juan Williams was nervous seeing Muslims on airplanes. And Nevada Senate candidate Sharron Angle charged that Muslims were implementing Shari'a

Real households of Dearborn After years of scary Islamists on shows like 24, *All-American Muslim* depicts a suburban life that looks different yet very familiar

in Dearborn, a claim shot down by its non Muslim mayor, Jack O'Reilly.

TV used to integrate our living rooms with sitcoms about American minorities, from *The Goldbergs* in 1949 to *The Cosby Show* and *Will & Grace*. (After the Ground Zero flap, a *Daily Show* sketch imagined a sitcom that could combat stereotypes about Muslims titled *The Qu' Cosby Show*.) But today, that's more the role of reality TV. TLC specializes in family stories that open a door on subcultures: *Sister Wives*, about polygamy; *Little People, Big World*, about dwarfism; and the fecund Duggars' *19 Kids and Counting*, which is as much about conservative Christian culture as it is about raising a family the size of a church choir.

Unlike TLC's past family shows, *All-American Muslim* focuses on not one family but several to capture a broader swath of Dearborn. Besides Zaban, there's Nina Bazy, an independent-minded businesswoman whose ambition of opening a nightclub runs up against the community's ideas of female propriety; Mike Jaafar, a family man and deputy sheriff; and Nader and Nawal Aoude, a young couple expecting their first baby.

Like many family stories, it opens with a wedding. Shadia Amen, 31, a divorced mom with tattoos and a thing for country music ("I'm a hillbilly at heart"), is getting remarried to Jeff McDermott, a Catholic who has agreed to convert to Islam. Jeff serves as a kind of surrogate for the non Muslim viewer. (Watch Jeff get cranky when he has to fast for his first Ramadan! Watch Jeff's Irish Catholic family find out the reception has no alcohol!) But *All-American* points out the nuances of the situation instead of amping up the conflict. For instance, Shadia's conservative parents are delighted that Jeff's converting; his mother is less so. But as Shadia's family points out, her parents would not have been happy if she had converted. And Jeff's mom—who ends up attending his wedding happily—realizes she's reacting less out of religious fervor than

inevitable wedding-induced stress.

"Change of any type is hard," she says.

In other words, *All-American Muslim* recognizes that religion is important—but it weren't, it wouldn't be religion—but not all-defining. And it's not monolithic, even within families. Free spirit Shadia has face piercings, her more conservative older sister Suehaila wears the traditional hijab, and their younger sister Samira is considering wearing it for the first time since 9/11 (when she stopped for fear of discrimination).

To tease out these differences, *All-American Muslim* brings the different families together between segments to discuss some of the issues that arise: the place of women in Muslim culture (a recurring theme of the show), war, intermarriage, sex, adoption. There are no pronouncements or right answers—just some well-meaning Midwesterners trying to puzzle out what God thinks about, say, going to a Red Lobster that has a bar. (This should ring true to any viewer: coming from a Jewish and Catholic family, I recall a few confused debates over the rules of Passover and Lent.) Real life is not a religious tract; it's just life, and people muddle through it, applying spiritual lessons on the fly.

Doing it for herself
As a businesswoman,
Bazy says, "the [Muslim]
culture makes things a
little more difficult. A lot of
people don't want to take
me as seriously."



THE LARGER WORLD'S RELIGIOUS politics do intrude on post-9/11 Dearborn. The Tractors are taunted at away games as "terrorists," and we see deputy sheriff Mike providing security at a festival that draws a crowd of anti-Muslim protesters jeering, "Muhammad is a pedophile!" But the most intriguing incident involves something no more geopolitically charged than pancakes. Nader and Nawal go out for brunch in another suburb and wait 15 minutes before a hostess seats them. Nawal is furious, certain they're being mistreated because she is wearing the hijab. Nader disagrees, noting that they've eaten there before with no problem. Nawal considers his point: "Maybe she was just having a bad day."

Maybe it was discrimination, maybe it wasn't. The point is that they have to wonder, whereas most Americans would just assume they were getting crappy service. As we get to know Nawal, we see that she's not strident or sanctimonious; asked if she believes other Muslim women should wear the hijab, she says, "Who the hell am I to tell them?"

The most revolutionary thing *All-American Muslim* does is introduce us to a woman like Nawal, with her plain spoken *ya knows* and *kindas* and flat upper Midwest vowels—a devout Muslim in a hijab who sounds just a touch like Michele Bachmann. TLC might have picked a more exotic immigrant community in California or Brooklyn. Instead it set the show in a town so American that Henry Ford founded his car company there and so American it then welcomed Middle Eastern immigrants to help build the machines. These characters aren't "just like us," because nobody is just like anybody. Religion is a way of distinguishing values and understanding life. But that life itself is something we all share—the pancakes and the weddings and the football games.

Speaking of which: *All-American Muslim* finished shooting before football season ended. After I watched it, I checked my hometown newspaper online for the score of the Monroe Fordson game. Monroe won. But I was happy to read, after getting to know these characters, that Dearborn managed to qualify for the playoffs too. Go Tractors!

Dishes should be offered from the left

A Blue Sash signals that a student is pretending to be a man and therefore should be served drinks after the female guests



Switzerland's Last Finishing School

Where good etiquette is still good business

By William Lee Adams/Montreux

IF LUNCH AT THE INSTITUT VILLA Pierrefeu (IVP) often feels like a rehearsal, that's because it is. Under the watchful eye of Rosemary McCallum, a Cordon Bleu-trained chef and expert on table manners, 13 female students practice the skills they've studied in courses on European etiquette and table service. As the meal unfolds in a stately dining room with corniced ceilings, McCallum gently

The instructor, a *Cordon Bleu* graduate, offers pointers on European table service



This student has live-in staff at home

Each setting should be at least 55 cm apart

Wine glasses should be removed by lifting them from near the bottom of the stem—never the top

reminds the five student servers that they must pick up champagne glasses near the bottom of the stems and offer the pear-and-Roquefort tarts from the left. Back home, four of the five women serving have live-in staffs. But the program requires them to rotate through the service role anyway so they can better train and manage their employees. Vera, a 30-year-old playing the role of hostess,

Practice makes perfect
Students learn dining, serving and other customs at Switzerland's Institut Villa Pierrefeu, which costs about \$20,000 for a six-week course

steers the conversation from her work with orphans back home in Lebanon to a Mexican guest's love of horseback riding. All goes well until Vera's fondness for Toblerone mousse leads her to commit a crucial error. "Your husband is still eating, and you've already finished," McCallum says. "Remember to pace your self." Vera glares across the table at her husband, played by a female classmate

from India. "Well," Vera says, "my husband should learn to eat faster."

For nearly 60 years, IVP—Switzerland's last traditional finishing school—has taught women social graces, from floral arrangement and table decoration to the art of serving afternoon tea. Updated annually, its intensive six-week course consists of 216 hours of class and, for those working toward a diploma in international etiquette and protocol, 45 exams. Daily practice brings students up to speed on how to whip up the trendiest desserts—like mascarpone mousse and balsamic cream, a fresh alternative to tire-some tiramisu—and how to gracefully adhere to local customs in 20 countries, including Mexico (where you may shake your waiter's hand) and Japan (where you should never use chopsticks as decorations in swept-up hair). But contrary to stereotype, the motive is not marriage; it's money. "Lots of people have M.B.A.s, but few have the extra knowledge we can give them," says Viviane Néri, the school's principal. "People now realize that good manners make for good business."

Among those who agree is P. Christopher Earley, the dean at Purdue University's Krannert School of Management and a co-author of *Cultural Intelligence*. Before globalization became the norm, "cultural issues were of less immediacy to businesses," he says. "But that's all changed in the past several decades with the flow of goods, services and information across transparent borders as well as the increasing interdependence of firms and subsidiaries."

It's this reality that draws midcareer executives to enroll at IVP, where they hope to gain an edge with international clients; younger students come to prepare for careers in public relations and the foreign service. Princesses and the daughters of Presidents and Prime Ministers enroll to better perform such duties as entertaining dignitaries and giving gifts while abroad. During *TIME*'s recent visit, the school's roster listed 36 women, ranging in age from 18 to 46 and hailing from 14 countries including Syria, Thailand and the U.S. Given their high-profile backgrounds, the students don't share their last names with teachers or with one another. And their refinement comes at a price: a six-week course, which includes room, two daily meals and weekend excursions, costs about \$20,000. Married students, including a Supreme Court judge from a European country



who recently studied at IVP, often elect to stay in nearby hotels with their families and nannies.

Dropping Courses like Sewing

PERCHED ON THE HILLS OVERLOOKING Lake Geneva, Néri's school is set in and around the former home of a Dutch baroness, built in 1911 as the Belle Époque drew to a close. Néri's mother acquired the property and established the school in 1954. "She wanted a house that would correspond to the type of house the students would have and entertain in," she says. "The kitchen is downstairs because it assumes you have servants." The ground-floor layout assumes students also have six chandeliers, 16 paintings and a marble staircase.

By the time Néri took the helm in 1972, many of her traditional rivals—the more than 60 finishing schools established around Lake Geneva before World War I—had shut down or fallen into decline. In some instances, it was an issue of succession: the founders' emancipated daughters simply didn't want to take the reins. In other cases, schools sitting on prime real estate were sold to the highest bidder. Subsequent decades saw the closure of iconic schools like Mon Fertile, which refined Camilla Parker Bowles, and

the Institut Alpin Videmanette, which counted Princess Diana among its alumni. Le Manoir now serves as the headquarters of Tetra-Pak, a food-processing company, and Le Marin Calme was transformed into a private residence that has passed through several owners, including Shania Twain.

But IVP has managed not only to stay open but also to keep filling up months in advance. Néri and her staff members—who frequently visit the Middle East to tutor royalty in the comfort of their palaces—may be as good at strategic planning as they are at party planning. As early as the 1970s, Néri began courting students from Latin America and Asia who slowly replaced gap-year students from Britain and Germany. Néri dropped courses like sewing and expanded the curriculum to reflect the changing demographics of global influence and power. She started teaching classes in English instead of French and eventually broadened courses to cover the customs of each of the BRICs—Brazil, Russia, India and China—the emerging markets where women are increasingly likely to conduct business. "This was never the kind of school where you just walked around with books on your head," she says. "We've always targeted the career woman."

One of Néri's students, Anna, a 40-something financial controller at an international company in the construction industry, rolled her eyes when teachers brought out irons during a class on folding napkins. But an hour later, she was hooked. "You see the exactness and the symmetry, and it gives a completely different atmosphere," she says. "If your table is slightly sloppy, your deal could fall through. The client might think, if the table is set like that, how will she treat my contract and our relationship?"

Back in the dining room, the five student servers—stomachs grumbling—have more pressing concerns. Their hostess's husband continues to spoon his Toblerone mousse. "Take your time," says Nouf, a 19-year-old business student from Oman who makes no effort to hide her sarcasm. "We don't want to eat lunch or anything." When the man of the house finally finishes, they clear the table and escort the guests to the drawing room for coffee. The waitresses return to the dining room and let out a massive sigh of relief. "I've been thinking about my servants all the time," says Nouf. "It's really hard work. I definitely have more respect for them." For a true lady, that unexpected lesson may prove the most lasting. ■



"After 6 weeks on an antidepressant, I still couldn't shake my depression."

If you've been on an antidepressant for at least 6 weeks and are still struggling with depression, having ABILIFY® (aripiprazole) added to your antidepressant may help with unresolved symptoms in as early as 1-2 weeks.*

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat depression in adults as add-on treatment to an antidepressant when an antidepressant alone is not enough.

Important Safety Information

Elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis (eg, an inability to perform daily activities due to increased memory loss) taking ABILIFY have an increased risk of death or stroke. ABILIFY is not approved for treating these patients.

Antidepressants can increase suicidal thoughts and behaviors in children, teens, and young adults. Serious mental illnesses are themselves associated with an increase in the risk of suicide. When taking ABILIFY call your doctor right away if you have new or worsening depression symptoms, unusual changes in behavior, or thoughts of suicide. Patients and their caregivers should be especially observant within the first few months of treatment or after a change in dose. Approved only for adults 18 and over with depression.

- Call your doctor if you develop very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure, as these may be signs of a rare but potentially fatal condition called **neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS)**
- If you develop uncontrollable facial or body movements, call your doctor, as these may be signs of **tardive dyskinesia (TD)**. TD may become permanent and the risk of TD may increase with the length of treatment and the overall dose. While TD can develop after taking the medicine at low doses for short periods, this is much less common. There is no known treatment for TD, but it may go away partially or completely if the medicine is stopped

- If you have **diabetes** or have risk factors or symptoms of diabetes, your blood sugar should be monitored. High blood sugar has been reported with ABILIFY and medicines like it. In some cases, extreme high blood sugar can lead to coma or death
- **Other risks** may include lightheadedness upon standing, decreases in white blood cells (which can be serious), seizures, trouble swallowing, or impairment in judgment or motor skills. Until you know how ABILIFY affects you, you should not drive or operate machinery

The **common side effects** in adults in clinical trials (≥10%) include nausea, vomiting, constipation, headache, dizziness, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), anxiety, and insomnia. Tell your doctor about all the medicines you're taking, since there are some risks for drug interactions. You should avoid alcohol while taking ABILIFY.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please read the additional Important Information about ABILIFY on the adjacent page.

Ask your doctor about the option of adding ABILIFY.

ABILIFY
(aripiprazole)
2 mg, 5 mg Tablet

FREE trial offer*

TrialOfferABILIFY.com
1-877-920-1755

*Based on 6-week clinical studies comparing ABILIFY + antidepressant versus antidepressant alone.

*Restrictions apply.

For a complete view, visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088. © 2011 Bristol-Myers Squibb



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IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT ABILIFY (aripiprazole)

ABILIFY® (a B I L I f i) (aripiprazole)

R ONLY

This summary of the Medication Guide contains risk and safety information for patients about ABILIFY. This summary does not include all information about ABILIFY and is not meant to take the place of discussions with your healthcare professional about your treatment. Please read this important information carefully before you start taking ABILIFY and discuss any questions about ABILIFY with your healthcare professional.

What is the most important information I should know about ABILIFY?

Serious side effects may happen when you take ABILIFY, including:

Increased risk of death in elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis:

Medicines like ABILIFY can raise the risk of death in elderly people who have lost touch with reality (psychosis) due to confusion and memory loss (dementia). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

Risk of suicidal thoughts or actions: Antidepressant medicines, depression and other serious mental illnesses, and suicidal thoughts or actions:

Antidepressant medicines may increase suicidal thoughts or actions in some children, teenagers, and young adults within the first few months of treatment. Depression and other serious mental illnesses are the most important causes of suicidal thoughts and actions. Some people may have a particularly high risk of having suicidal thoughts or actions including people who have (or have a family history of) bipolar illness (also called manic-depressive illness) or suicidal thoughts or actions.

How can I watch for and try to prevent suicidal thoughts and actions in myself or a family member?

- Pay close attention to any changes, especially sudden changes, in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings. This is very important when an antidepressant medicine is started or when the dose is changed.
- Call the healthcare provider right away to report new or sudden changes in mood, behavior, thoughts, or feelings.
- Keep all follow-up visits with the healthcare provider as scheduled. Call the healthcare provider between visits as needed, especially if you have concerns about symptoms.

Call the healthcare provider right away if you or your family member has any of the following symptoms, especially if they are new, worse, or worry you:

- thoughts about suicide or dying, attempts to commit suicide, new or worse depression, new or worse anxiety, feeling very agitated or restless, panic attacks, trouble sleeping (insomnia), new or worse irritability, acting aggressive, being angry, or violent, acting on dangerous impulses, an extreme increase in activity and talking (mania), other unusual changes in behavior or mood.

What else do I need to know about antidepressant medicines?

- **Never stop an antidepressant medicine without first talking to a healthcare provider.** Stopping an antidepressant medicine suddenly can cause other symptoms.
- **Antidepressants are medicines used to treat depression and other illnesses.** It is important to discuss all the risks of treating depression and also the risks of not treating it. Patients and their families or other caregivers should discuss all treatment choices with the healthcare provider, not just the use of antidepressants.
- **Antidepressant medicines have other side effects.** Talk to the healthcare provider about the side effects of the medicine prescribed for you or your family member.
- **Antidepressant medicines can interact with other medicines.** Know all of the medicines that you or your family member takes. Keep a list of all medicines to show the healthcare provider. Do not start new medicines without first checking with your healthcare provider.

- **Not all antidepressant medicines prescribed for children are FDA approved for use in children.** Talk to your child's healthcare provider for more information.

What is ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat:

- major depressive disorder in adults, as an add-on treatment to an antidepressant medicine when you do not get better with an antidepressant alone.

The symptoms of major depressive disorder (MDD) include feeling of sadness and emptiness, loss of interest in activities that you once enjoyed and loss of energy, problems focusing and making decisions, feeling of worthlessness or guilt, changes in sleep or eating patterns, and thoughts of death or suicide.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking ABILIFY?

Before taking ABILIFY, tell your healthcare provider if you have or had:

- diabetes or high blood sugar in you or your family; your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and also during therapy.
- seizures (convulsions).
- low or high blood pressure.
- heart problems or stroke.
- pregnancy or plans to become pregnant. It is not known if ABILIFY will harm your unborn baby.
- breast-feeding or plans to breast-feed. It is not known if ABILIFY will pass into your breast milk. You and your healthcare provider should decide if you will take ABILIFY or breast-feed. You should not do both.
- low white blood cell count.
- phenylethanolamine. ABILIFY DISINTEGRATING Tablets contain phenylethanolamine.
- any other medical conditions.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines that you take or recently have taken, including prescription medicines, non-prescription medicines, herbal supplements, and vitamins.

ABILIFY and other medicines may affect each other causing possible serious side effects. ABILIFY may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how ABILIFY works.

Your healthcare provider can tell you if it is safe to take ABILIFY with your other medicines. Do not start or stop any medicines while taking ABILIFY without talking to your healthcare provider first. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How should I take ABILIFY?

- Take ABILIFY exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to take it. Do not change the dose or stop taking ABILIFY yourself.
- ABILIFY can be taken with or without food.
- ABILIFY tablets should be swallowed whole.
- If you miss a dose of ABILIFY, take the missed dose as soon as you remember. If it is almost time for the next dose, just skip the missed dose and take your next dose at the regular time. Do not take two doses of ABILIFY at the same time.
- If you take too much ABILIFY, call your healthcare provider or poison control center at 1-800-222-1222 right away, or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

What should I avoid while taking ABILIFY?

- Do not drive, operate heavy machinery, or do other dangerous activities until you know how ABILIFY affects you. ABILIFY may make you drowsy.
- Do not drink alcohol while taking ABILIFY.
- Avoid getting over-heated or dehydrated.
- Do not over-exercise.
- In hot weather, stay inside in a cool place if possible.
- Stay out of the sun. Do not wear too much or heavy clothing.
- Drink plenty of water.

What are the possible side effects of ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

Serious side effects have been reported with ABILIFY including:

- **Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS):** Tell your healthcare provider right away if you have some or all of the following symptoms: high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in pulse, heart rate, and blood pressure. These may be symptoms of a rare and serious condition that can lead to death. Call the healthcare provider right away if you have any of these symptoms.
- **High blood sugar (hyperglycemia):** Increases in blood sugar can happen in some people who take ABILIFY. Extremely high blood sugar can lead to coma or death. If you have diabetes or risk factors for diabetes (such as being overweight or a family history of diabetes), your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and during therapy.
- **Call your healthcare provider if you have any of these symptoms of high blood sugar while taking ABILIFY:**
 - feel very thirsty, need to urinate more than usual, feel very hungry, feel weak or tired, feel sick to your stomach, feel confused, or your breath smells fruity.

Difficulty swallowing may lead to aspiration and choking.

Tardive dyskinesia: Call your healthcare provider about any movements you cannot control in your face, tongue, or other body parts. These may be signs of a serious condition. Tardive dyskinesia may not go away, even if you stop taking ABILIFY. Tardive dyskinesia may also start after you stop taking ABILIFY.

Orthostatic hypotension (decreased blood pressure): lightheadedness or fainting when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position.

Low white blood cell count

Seizures (convulsions)

Common side effects with ABILIFY in adults include nausea, inner sense of restlessness/need to move (akathisia), vomiting, anxiety, constipation, insomnia, headache, restlessness, dizziness.

These are not all the possible side effects of ABILIFY. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

General information about ABILIFY


- Store ABILIFY at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F. Opened bottles of ABILIFY Oral Solution can be used for up to 6 months after opening, but not beyond the expiration date on the bottle. Keep ABILIFY and all medicines out of the reach of children.
- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use ABILIFY for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ABILIFY to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.
- This summary contains the most important information about ABILIFY. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. For more information about ABILIFY visit www.abilify.com.

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Health

Ingredient Anxiety Hyping what's not there

By Bonnie Rochman

LOOK CLOSELY IN CERTAIN SUPER market aisles and you might be baffled by what's touted on the packaging. "Free of 1,4 dioxane," reads the label on one eco-friendly toilet-bowl cleaner. A leading hair-care brand offers "sulfate free" shampoo. It's only after you breathe a sigh of relief that ingredient anxiety kicks in: Wait, what's wrong with sulfate? And how many products is it in?

As grocery-store shoppers become more label conscious, many companies are highlighting—often in big type—what their products don't contain. Some of these non-ingredients, like BPA, have made headlines in recent years, while others are so obscure that few consumers know much about them. (DMDM hydantoin?)

"People are saying, I don't want products with fill in the blank," says Cara Welch, chief scientist for the nonprofit Natural Products Association. Such complaints have led to a marketing mishmash, with some labels reflecting products that have been reformulated for the better and others doing little more than greenwashing. For instance, one liquid laundry detergent boasts on its label that it "contains no phosphate," an ingredient the U.S. banned in laundry suds in 1993.

"These product claims can be tricky," says Sonya Lunder, a senior analyst at the Environmental Working Group, an industry watchdog. "It's hard for the average consumer to know if the ingredient they are advertising they don't have is actually the one you would be most concerned about." Welch's advice: the shorter the ingredient list, the better.



Nitrosamine is an amount that appears over time in some personal-care products that is linked to cancer.

Grapefruit-seed extract has in some cases been contaminated by synthetics.

1,4-dioxane

FOUND IN Baby shampoos, liquid cleansers

CONCERN A known animal carcinogen, this by-product results when certain chemicals are treated to make them less harsh on your skin. A new boycott aims to speed Johnson & Johnson's phasing out of dioxane (and quaternium-15) from all of its baby products.

REGULATIONS Dioxane doesn't have to be listed as an ingredient, since it is not added intentionally.

Parabens

FOUND IN Makeup, moisturizers, shampoos, conditioners, shaving products

CONCERN These potential endocrine disruptors are widely used as preservatives.

REGULATIONS Banned in Denmark in products aimed at kids under 3.

Bisphenol A (BPA)

FOUND IN Hard-plastic bottles, food- and beverage-can linings

CONCERN Exposure in utero to this synthetic estrogen may lead to developmental and behavioral problems.

REGULATIONS In 2009 the top six baby-bottle manufacturers stopped using BPA. In October, California became the 11th state to prohibit its use in baby bottles.

Phosphates

FOUND IN Dishwashing detergents made as recently as last year

CONCERN They pollute waterways and contribute to algae blooms that deprive fish and other aquatic life of oxygen.

REGULATIONS Seventeen states have passed laws limiting the use of these ingredients in dishwasher detergents; the U.S. banned phosphates in laundry suds in 1993.

Phthalates

FOUND IN Synthetic fragrances in perfumes, eye shadows, moisturizers, liquid soaps, hair sprays, plastics

CONCERN This group of chemicals has been linked to reduced sperm quality.

REGULATIONS Heavily restricted in children's toys since 2008.

Propylene glycol

FOUND IN Deodorants, medications, shampoos, mouthwashes

CONCERN There is little in the way of medical studies, so antipathy for this ingredient, often abbreviated as PG, stems mainly from consumers' not wanting to ingest or slather on a petroleum-derived product.

REGULATIONS None

Sulfates

FOUND IN Shampoos, soaps, toothpastes

CONCERN Some of these foaming agents are skin irritants; others combine with petrochemicals to form 1,4-dioxane, which is a probable human carcinogen.

REGULATIONS Pressured by consumers, some manufacturers have found ways to sub out ingredients like sodium laureth sulfate.

DMDM hydantoin

FOUND IN Moisturizers, shampoos, body washes, hair dyes

CONCERN This antimicrobial preservative releases formaldehyde, which in June was classified as a known human carcinogen.

REGULATIONS Japan restricts its use in some cosmetics.



BOSE
Better sound through research

Books

Doomed to Repeat Stephen King hunts the past in a time-travel thriller

By Gilbert Cruz

LATE IN THE DEAD ZONE, STEPHEN KING'S 1979 novel about a man who can see the future, the main character asks, "If you could jump into a time machine and go back to 1932, would you kill Hitler?" It's one of speculative fiction's great hypotheticals. It's also a scenario that King would be poorly equipped to write: over a four-decade career, his comfort zone has always been the culture and vernacular of blue collar, small-town America. So instead of World War II, King has chosen a particularly American obsession—the JFK assassination—for his first foray into time-machine historical fiction.

In King's engrossing new novel, *11/22/63*, Jake Epping, a high school English teacher living in present-day Maine, travels back to 1958 via a time tunnel behind a scuzzy diner. His friend, who owns the eatery and has been using the tunnel for quite some time, presents Jake with a mission: if he can prevent Kennedy's murder in Dallas, he might also thwart the violent deaths of Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., the race riots, the Vietnam War—all the great traumas of the 1960s.

So Jake moves to Texas with the intention of stalking Lee Harvey Oswald. But, as tends to happen in King's books, he forms a deep romance with an angel-like woman, a librarian named Sadie. (King's major flaw—and here it takes the form of tall, ungainly, unlucky Sadie—is his tendency toward sentimentality, something he shares with another great Steve of pop culture: Spielberg.) As Jake settles down in Sadie's small town, this visitor from the future realizes he'd rather become a resident of the past.

Like many King protagonists, Jake and Sadie are deeply drawn yet somehow lack definition. It's a pleasure to spend time with them over hundreds of pages because they are largely uncomplicated

Memorable line
Did I want to spend years in the past? No. But I did want to go back. If only to hear how Little Richard sounded when he was still top of the pops. Or get on a Trans World Airlines plane without having to take off my shoes.

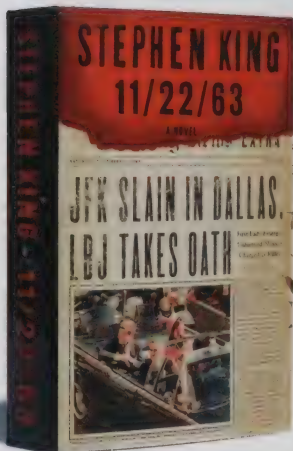
and speak directly. But they're also too good, too kind to truly captivate—and we know this because King hammers home their goodness and kindness with passages like "Sadie could be vulnerable, and Sadie could be clumsy, but Sadie could also be very, very brave."

King leaves the spell-casting to Oswald, who doesn't appear until more than halfway through the book. JFK's needy, cowardly, speechifying future assassin—already familiar to us in literary form via Don DeLillo's *Libra* and Norman Mailer's *Oswald's Tale*—is

JFK's needy, cowardly future assassin is given unexpected shadings of frustrated humanity

given unexpected shadings of frustrated humanity. It's a surprising touch from King, who has never been known for writing subtle bad guys.

Like the author's last several novels (*Under the Dome*, *Duma Key*), *11/22/63* succeeds mostly because of its masterly structure and plot. After a leisurely early section in which Jake tests the consequences of time travel (and King weaves in an odd extended cameo by a pair of characters from his 1986 blockbuster *IT*), the story swings back and forth between Jake's life with Sadie and Jake's life with Oswald. Each half of the narrative adds tension to the other, because we know the two must inevitably meet. As Jake hurtles toward his date with Dealey Plaza, he begins to realize that his enemy isn't Oswald. His enemy is time and its great, stubborn unwinding. Nearly 40 years into his career, King has finally found his most relatable villain.



Joel Stein



The End of Kardaschadenfreude

How the lessons of Kim Kardashian's 72-day marriage can last me a lifetime

I UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTIES OF A celebrity marriage because I'm in one: I am married to the wife of Joel Stein. I also know how hurtful it is when the public finds out private details about my marriage, which almost always happens right after I write about them. And I have a lot of empathy for Kim Kardashian, since we both appear on the E! channel, both designed our own fragrances with the same company and both made sex tapes, although hers involved a second person.

So I feel for Kim now that she's filed for divorce from professional basketball player Kris Humphries. It's too easy to make fun of her by listing things that are longer than their 72 days of marriage: Sarah Jessica Parker's face, a black man's life in a horror film, the trick-or-treat line at Casey Anthony's house. I know just how easy it is because I got those jokes by typing "ThingsLongerThanKimsMarriage" into Twitter.

My own celebrity marriage has lasted nearly 50 Kardashians, but we've had enough struggles to know how quickly things can go poorly. Just 26 days before they split, Kim and Kris renewed their vows on *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*. Two days before, Kim was happily dancing at a New York City club's Halloween party dressed up, just like everybody else now, as a slutty version of a slut. Then, hours before she filed her divorce papers, she recorded her heartbreak on her Twitter account: "Our store #KardashianKhaos is opening tomorrow at 9am at @TheMirageLV. We are so excited!! Kardashian Khaos has arrived!"

But it's wrong to blame the couple for not keeping their marriage together longer than the trial period for their mattress. We have created a wedding culture where marriage is less important than the

wedding, which is less important than the Vegas bachelorette party, which is less important than the Facebook photos of the bachelorette party. We PEOPLE magazine readers and watchers of the *Kim's Fairytale Wedding* special on E! paid for that wedding because we are adults who are still obsessed with princesses. Even though we all know in our hearts that, as a straight man, I am saying we only to be nice.

Then we left Kim and Kris alone to face the daily routine of marriage, which must have seemed like drudgery after their multimillion-dollar wedding. Unlike at the wedding, in their married life they had to have dinner with people they knew. If they had stayed together much longer, they would have had to start writing thank-you notes for their wedding gifts.

My lovely wife Cassandra wanted to elope because she understood that the important part wasn't the wedding but the honeymoon. I stupidly vetoed that idea because—just like with the

prom—I was brainwashed into thinking I'd regret missing out on it for the rest of my life. I also thought committing to me in front of her closest family and friends would make her too embarrassed to leave me 72 days later.

Kim actually divorced responsibly, before she had children or emotional attachments to her husband. And she did it with class: in her press release the day of her divorce filing, she said nice things about him, even getting his name right. "I don't think Kim should be embarrassed or shameful about getting married or getting divorced," says Stacy Morrison, an expert on weddings, divorce and celebrity, having been the editor of *Modern Bride*, the author of *Falling Apart in One Piece: One Optimist's Journey Through the Hell of Divorce* and my editor. "What she should feel embarrassed about is the wedding. She brought back a headpiece that would be better left to history."

So I hope Kim ignores everyone's petty schadenfreude and, as she has throughout her career, remains completely unschadened. I hope she realizes that we're fascinated with supershort celebrity marriages because we wonder, deep down, if they've once again found a better way to live. They skip the hard parts. Their lives are all honeymoon and no marriage. I'm able to write that sentence because, after nearly 10 years of marriage, Cassandra is so over me, she no longer reads my column.

I've gotten careless with my marriage, assuming that just because things are going well on Day 71, there will be a Day 73. I'm not, to my embarrassment, even entirely sure which day we're on. But thanks to Kim's example, I'm going to be more careful and not let it turn into all partnership and no adventure. I'm going to see if Cassandra wants to hire a spray-on tanner, have some alone time to talk to a video camera or spend all her time with her parents and siblings. I'm going to assure her that men like big butts. And if I do all that just right, I think there's a chance she'll let me take the video camera out. I'll have my own reality show in no time. ■



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10 Questions



DiCaprio was recently involved in the successful campaign to ban shark-fin soup in California

Reluctant heartthrob turned serious actor **Leonardo DiCaprio** talks about ambition, secrets and self-invention

How true is your new movie, *J. Edgar*, to Hoover's life?

Historically, it's incredibly accurate. Whatever happened with him as far as his personal life is up for interpretation, and I think the film also represents that. No one except for Mr. [Clyde] Tolson [Hoover's FBI protégé and rumored lover] and Mr. Hoover truly know what went down between them, but they absolutely were inseparable partners throughout their lives.

So you think he was gay?

I think no one really knows the truth. Some experts will say without question he was a heterosexual man and Clyde Tolson was his business partner and they were of service to our country.

You and Hoover both had success at a young age. Did that help you get inside his skin?

I identified with his ambition. I've been incredibly ambitious ever since I was young and in some respects have had no reservations about going for things I've wanted without questioning what the result will be.

Also like Hoover, you've been famous for a long time. What is the worst impact it has had on your personality?

There are a lot of pitfalls to success, and one is not listening to criticism. One of the most important things you can do is hear criticism of yourself and embrace it,

whether it be—in my case—artistic or personal.

This movie opens with terrorist acts in several U.S. cities in 1919 and authorities reacting out of fear. Is it drawing parallels with events of the past decade?

Very much so. The incentive for the screenplay was the stripping of one's own inalienable

rights as an individual and the [encroachment] of government on our constitutional freedoms. [Screenwriter] Dustin Lance Black was inspired by the Bush era.

Does your participation in this movie reflect your politics?

[Director] Clint Eastwood and I and Dustin have different ideas on politics, and we didn't bring those to the table. For me, it was more a portrait of a man who protected his own secrets but spent his life infiltrating other people's.



Given that both you and Clint have probably had stories told about you that were embroidered for dramatic effect, did you have qualms about doing that to somebody else's life?

You have to make character choices. That's what artistic license is. But yeah, I imagine if I were to see a movie about my life, there would be many things I'd argue with. There's how history records what you did, but there's also what your real intent was. That's a complex web.

Are you interested in an Eastwood-style directing career?

It takes the type of temperament that Clint Eastwood has, because you're not just focused on yourself. I want that challenge one day.

You're making a 3-D version of *The Great Gatsby* in Australia with Baz Luhrmann at the moment. What drew you to *Gatsby*?

The idea of a man who came from absolutely nothing, who created himself solely from his own imagination. *Gatsby*'s one of those iconic characters because he can be interpreted in so many ways: a hopeless romantic, a completely obsessed wacko or a dangerous gangster intent on clinging to wealth through Daisy.

This doesn't make the movie sound very romantic...

There's incredible romance in there.

Speaking of which, *Titanic*'s coming out in 3-D. Will we see Jack Dawson mania again?

I can't tell you how much I don't think about that.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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